Annals of the
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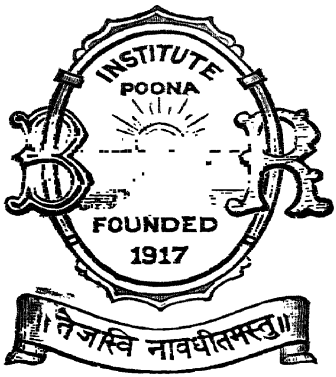
Volume X

EDITED BY

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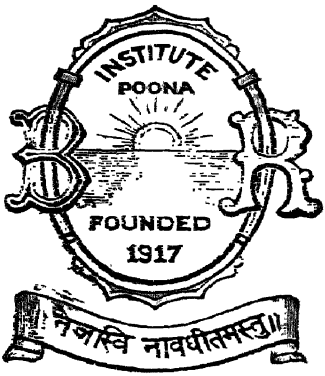
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INTRODUCTION TO TRIVIKRAMA'S PRAKRIT GRAMMAR

BY

T. K. LADDU, B. A., Ph. D.

(Translated from the German by P. V. Ramanujaswami, M. A.)

(P. 5) TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction. Origin of language. Laws of linguistic development. History of the Aryan Language. Probable origin of the Prakrit dialects. The Vedic Sanskrit as source of the Prakrit. Grounds for this view. Prakrit literature. Religious and grammatical. Prakrit Grammarians. Edition of Trivikrama's Grammar. Arrangement of the work ; books utilized.

Chapter I. Material for the work. Description of the Manuscripts. Books and authorities utilized.

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Appendix A. Extracts from Trivikrama's Grammar.

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(P. 7) INTRODUCTION

Origin of Language.

Man distinguishes himself from other living creatures by the use of language. The animals express their feelings through bodily movements or different kinds of cries. Some of them show a certain degree of intelligence in so far as they understand and retain the signs and sounds used by their masters. Before the origin of language man used, probably as the animals, signs and gestures, exclamations and imitative sounds in order to convey his thoughts and feelings to his fellow beings, if he felt a longing or necessity for such a communication. Human being did not, however, stop short at this as the other living creatures, but went further and from those sounds and exclamations formed words and combinations of words. The words so formed go from one to another, and through their general use, the foundation is laid to one form of the faculty of speech which can be termed language.

Phonetic change and its causes.

In the act of transmission, however, the words undergo alterations, partly through the carelessness of speaking and hearing partly through their effort after simplification for the purpose of more easy and comfortable pronunciation, and in addition, incline to give the language an anomalous shape. This process of phonetic change is further accelerated through false analogy, which creates new words, or transforms old ones, as soon as the old etymology is forgotten.

Dialects caused through natural and artificial barriers of intercourse.

Study of languages and extension of literature hinders speedy change.

Again two other diverging and resisting forces of differentiation and preservation influence the development of language. If natural barriers, such as mountains and seas, or artificial barriers, such as rivalry between two races, separates one part of the country from another, (then) their original common speech splits itself into different dialects which in course of time develop into different languages. If, on the other hand, the language begins to be studied and if, through writing and other artificial means, the words of speaking and writing are accurately preserved and spread, (then) the process of phonetic (P. 8)

decay as well as the dissolution into dialectal differences are stopped. Better means of communication which are procured and made necessary through the progressive civilization and culture of the people, serve, in addition, to preserve the form of the language and, if many dialects or languages already exist, political superiority or wealth of the inhabitants decides one of them in its favour while the others, in course of time, go out of use and fall into oblivion.

Development and differentiation of language illustrated by the English Language.

The processes of development and differentiation of language can now be studied with relative ease, particularly with regard to any one Indo-Germanic language, thanks to the combined efforts of the comparative Philologists, who have produced during the last fifty years a huge mass of literature on the subject. The history of the English language, e. g. illustrates in a clear manner the above described processes. From the Anglo-Saxon period through that of Chaucer and Shakespeare and finally to the Modern, we nowhere find a sudden change but only a gradual one. If we, however, compare the Anglo-Saxon with the Modern English, we find an almost complete change. In earlier times the phonetic laws have been more effective and have obscured in many cases the primitive forms of words. If we compare, on the other hand, the English of the different countries of England—to say nothing of the English dialects prevalent in Scotland, Ireland and Wales—the dialectal differentiation and development is clearly marked. The effect of the study of language and the extension of literature also ever become the greater the more we approach the Modern Period in the history of the English.

A history of Aryan language.

The history of the Aryan language i. e. the language spoken by that Idg. community which went to India and settled there, offers an interesting example for those processes of growth and decay and supplies us with literary records which are older than those of any other Indo-Germanic language. These earliest records are the Vedic hymns which are orally handed down with an accuracy and care unparalleled in the history of the world, if we take into consideration

that the art of writing was unknown at that time. In course of time and taken together with the progress of civilization and culture, this Vedic language presented an ever progressive form which is reflected in the Brāhmaṇas (P. 9), Āraṇyakas, Sūtras, Upaniṣads, Epics, and lastly in the Sanskrit works.

Development.

The study of language began in very early times and had the production of works, such as the Prātiśākhyas, as a consequence. It was considerably demanded through the religious importance which the language gradually assumed and the fact that this literary form which developed out of the Vedic language was employed not only for religious and priestly literature but also for works of science, art and philosophy. The necessity for grammar was felt which was satisfied by a multitude of Grammarians who appeared in the Northern and Eastern parts of Northern India, who studied the literature of their age and carefully sketched and analysed the forms and manner of expression of the language.[1] Meanwhile, the language became more and more difficult and complicated and unfit for the general use and thus went out of the hands of the people; this lightened the work of the Grammarian to lay down the form of the language as it was gradually used by a limited number of learned people, and we have in the most ingenious grammatical system of Pāṇini the definite form which the Vedic language finally assumed.

Strengthening the action of the study of language through religion.

Besides the literary language of the Vedic Age, there must however, have existed dialectal differences, which in course of time developed into different languages, by means of the linguistic laws of growth already spoken of above; for we cannot accept that men of that time spoke in the literary language, uttered no word except the Vedic vocabulary and had nothing to say except what was written down in the Vedic

Probable origin of the Prakrit languages and the North Indian speeches.

1 'India' is used here in the sense of Āryāvarta. Dr. Böhtlingk gives the names of ten Grammarians (Pāṇini's Grammatik, Leipzig 1887, p. 9) and two Eastern and Northern schools which are mentioned by Pāṇini. Pāṇini himself proceeded from Śālātura in the region of Attock.

hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. It must have yielded to the people of whom some could invent such beautiful poetry and express high philosophical ideas as those delivered in those works and of whom some could probably understand it while the remaining majority might have spoken dialects deviating more or less from the literary language. These popular dialects of the Vedic period have, probably, after they have passed through the intermediate stage of Pali, the Mahārāṣṭrī and other (P. 10) dialects came to us finally in the form of the Bengali, Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati.

Tradition, linguistic laws and literary monuments.

Tradition.

This probable origin of the popular dialects which were called the Prakrit dialects is confirmed through tradition and the literary and historical monuments as well as through the linguistic laws of development and differentiation. Tradition attributes to Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, and Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, the use of the popular dialects for the preaching of their gospel and the languages chosen by them for the purpose are known as Pali, Ārṣa and Prakrita. Gautama and Mahāvīra, who were contemporaries lived in the pre-Pāṇinian time—about 500 B. C.[1] in which probably some of the older Upaniṣads were composed. The period of 'Classical', or Pāṇinian Sanskrit began, not in the time of Pāṇini, but probably some centuries later—perhaps in the time when the Vārttikas and the Mahābhāṣya were written—i. e. in the time when his grammar gained canonical authority, because by pure Sanskrit is generally understood the language which strictly follows the rules of Pāṇini and because such a complete subjugation to his authority could not be expected in his own time, especially if we take the fact into consideration that he refers to a series of different schools of grammar. To the historical and literary documents written in the Prakrit languages, whose dates are tolerably certain, belong the Inscriptions of Aśoka and the two fragmentary Buddhistic dramas which have been lately published by Prof. Lüders under the title "Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen (Fragments of Buddhistic dramas)". The Inscriptions of Aśoka

Literary documents.

1 Cf. Prof Jacobi's remarks in the Introduction to his edition of the Kalpasūtra.

belong to the third century B. C. and the dramas referred to belong, according to Prof. Lüders, (see his remarks at the place cited, p. 64-65) to about the 1st century of the Christian Era. The inscriptions as well as the dramas show dialectal differences which force us to accept a lasting development. We have after that numerous Prakrit inscriptions, literary works in prose and verse and dramatic pieces until the time of Hemacandra.

Study of Languages

In the sphere of the Prakrit dialects spoken by the uneducated classes, the study of languages began necessarily much later. (P. 11). The tradition of their earliest phases was not considered worthy because the Vedic was the religious and literary language, but they notwithstanding developed further and the Brahmanical writers also could not help taking them into consideration. The Buddhist and Jain writers accepted them and promoted their development and the Brahmanical writers also, though slowly and reluctantly, acknowledged them, in as much as they introduced them in the dramatic works. Attempt was then first made to understand and explain their form and contents. Of such attempts the earliest were, as far as we know, those of the Brahmanical writers. All writers—Brahmanical and Non-Brahmanical—regard the popular dialects as derived from Sanskrit, i. e. from Pāṇini's Sanskrit, and denote them as Prakrit languages, i. e. languages derived from Sanskrit, i. e. of which that (language) is the Prakṛti, the "source."

Religious Literature

The grammatical Works. Bharata.

The first attempt appears to be that of Bharata whose name is of high antiquity but whose time is not completely certain. His work, Nāṭyaśāstra, has two Chapters—the 17th and 32nd—on the Prakrit languages, but according to Prof. Pischel, it is only of little importance (see Gr. Pr.§ 31)[1]. Pāṇini is also said to have composed a Prakrit Grammar—Prākṛtalakṣaṇa as a supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar—a noteworthy tradition, as it confirms the view set forth above that the Prakrit dialects are not derived from Pāṇinian Sanskrit but

1 I have again read the two Chapters in the Bombay edition.

from earlier dialects of Vedic time.[1] The first great attempt at a systematic Prakrit grammar was, however, made by Vararuci who is also known as Kātyāyana. His grammar, Prākṛtaprakāśa, which has been critically edited by Prof. Cowell (1858), became, as it was probably the first of its kind, soon popular, as is evident from the number of Commentaries written upon it. But it treats of only four Prakrit dialects while the later Grammarians treat of six. Several Prakritists came after Vararuci. Among others, Caṇḍa wrote the Prākṛtalakṣaṇa and Dhanapāla composed a Prakrit Dictionary " Pāiyalacchī. " We then come to the great Prakrit grammarian, Hemacandra (1088-1172) (see Pischel, Gr. 36). His grammar, which forms a supplement to his Sanskrit grammar " Siddhahemacandram, " is thorough and systematic (P. 12) and it appears that the material supplied by the earlier writers has been completely utilised by him, although he never openly refers to an early grammarian or author with the exception of a single passage (Hem. 1/186). A critical edition of this work was presented to us by the late Prof. Pischel. This grammar is also so exhaustive (that) new attempts were made at its improvement and we have thus the grammars of Trivikrama, Siṁharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, Appaya Dīkṣita, Mārkaṇḍeya and others. The text of Mārkaṇḍeya's "Prākṛtasarvasva" has been lately published for the first time in the newly established periodical "Grantha pradarśanī " at Vizagapatam. Siṁharāja's "Prākṛtarūpāvatāra" has been critically edited by Professor Hultzsch-Halle, and Lakṣmīdhara's " Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā" has already appeared formerly and that in Telugu characters. Trivikrama's " Prākṛtaśabdānuśāsana " however, has not yet been completely published; the first chapter appeared in the above-mentioned " Granthapradarśanī " in the year 1895 and the text of the sūtras lately in the same collection.

Vararuci

Caṇḍa and Dhanapāla.

Hemacandra.

Trivikrama, Siṁharāja Lakṣmīdhara, Appaya Dīkṣita and Markaṇḍeya.

1 This tradition is reported to us by two ancient writers, Kedārabhaṭṭa and Malayagiri. Further particulars are found in Dr. Hoernle's Introduction to Caṇḍa's Prakrit Grammar.

In the interests of Prakrit Philology, all the unpublished works, grammatical or literary, must be critically edited and I have therefore, at the suggestion of Prof. Hultzsch, undertaken to edit Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar, in the hope of finding some new and interesting material, which throws a new light on the Prakrit studies. The following is an attempt to set forth lucidly the results of my occupation with Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar.

Arrangement.

I have divided this dissertation into four Chapters and two Appendices. In the first (chapter) I give a short description of the materials made use of by me. In the second, the question as to the authorship of the sūtras to which Trivikrama has written a commentary is handled. In the third, Trivikrama's time and his relation to Hemacandra is discussed and a short summary of his grammar given. In the fourth, I give all the important quotations presented by Trivikrama with the sources from which they are taken, as far as I can verify them.

In Appendix A, extracts from Trivikrama's commentary are given. In Appendix B are found all the technical terms used by Trivikrama.

In addition to the books already mentioned, the following have also been looked into and utilized.

(P. 13) Whitney : Language and the Study of Language. London 1870.

Brugmann : Kurze vergleichende Grammatik. Strassburg 1901.

Giles : Manual of Comparative Philology.

Schröder : Indiens Literature und Kultur. Leipzig 1887.

R. G. Bhandarkar : Wilson Philological Lectures on the Sanskrit and the Dialects derived from it. 1877.

Jacobi : Introduction to his edition of the Kalpasūtra. Leipzig 1879.

Mason : Introduction to Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar. Toungoo 1868.

Hoernle : Introduction and text of Caṇḍa's Prakrit Grammar. Calcutta 1880.

Böhtlingk : Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe des Pāṇini. Leipzig 1887.

CHAPTER I

THE MATERIAL

Through the kind assistance of F. W. Thomas, M. A., Librarian of the India Office, London, and Prof. Dr. Hultzsch of the University of Halle, I have been able to procure for me seven important manuscripts of Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar of which some have already been compared with five other manuscripts. Most of these manuscripts are unfortunately incomplete and some of them appear to have been corrected and improved by learned copyists.

A. A palm-leaf manuscript in Telugu characters. 87 rectangular leaves with sometimes seven (and) sometimes six lines on a page. Complete and faultless.

This manuscript belongs to Mr. Hiersemann, an Oriental bookseller in Leipzig, who possesses a great collection of important and old Sanskrit manuscripts. It is also free from mistakes and contains occasional checks on other sūtras in the marginal notes, which show—to do justice to the copyist—that he was a learned man who understood what he wrote. In the section on Apabhraṁśa, however, his Prakrit learning had, as I am unfortunately obliged to remark, exercised a disturbing influence on his activity as a faithful copyist, if he had not simply copied from the other manuscript. Instead of giving the actual quotations furnished by Trivikrama himself, this scribe had coined probable Prakrit forms from Sanskrit words—naturally right according to the (P. 14) rules of Apabhraṁśa. In all other manuscripts except B, which as I suppose is a copy of this or probably both of them go back to a third common source—full quotations in verses or in prose are given as examples. To some passages the scribe had even supplied different readings. On this manuscript I have based my edition of Trivikrama with the exception of the section on Apabhraṁśa. For the Apabhraṁśa I have, however, relied upon the second manuscript marked C which is described below.

B. A copy of a manuscript in the Madras Government Library. Devanāgarī characters. 289 pages with 19 lines on a page. Occasional faults of passages.

The original of this manuscript is described in the following manner in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Madras by Prof. Rangacarya, Vol. 3 No. 1549.

" Vālmīkisūtram with vṛtti. Substance, paper. Size, 13⅛:8¼ inches. Pages, 175. Lines, 30 on a page. Character, Devanāgarī. Condition, good. Appearance, new. Complete. "

Dr. Thomas caused this copy made for me through the Government of Madras. The copy is carefully made and tolerably free from mistakes. In addition to occasional lacunae in the work, the last sūtra about Deśī-words is incomplete. The Apabhraṁśa section agrees with that given in manuscript A, as regards the examples to the rules of this section. It follows in all probability, not only from this but also from the great similarity of the readings of both these manuscripts A and B—and considering the circumstance that, as asserted in the Madras Catalogue, the appearance of B is new—that the original of the manuscript has been copied from the manuscript A which appears very old or that both of them probably had a third common source.

C. A copy of a manuscript of the Tanjore Palace Library in Devanāgarī characters. 206 pages. Complete with the exception of occasional lacunae. Tolerably free from mistakes.

I obtained this manuscript through Dr. Thomas. It was copied by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, a Sanskrit scholar in Tanjore, and was compared with both the original manuscripts Nos. 10005 and 10006 by C. Krisnayya, Librarian of the Tanjore Palace Library. The description of both the original manuscripts is given at the end as follows :—" This book (MS. C) is transcribed with the (P. 15) help of the two palm-leaf manuscripts which are found in the library, Nos. 10005 and 10006.

No. 10005. This manusctipt is very old (written) in Grantha characters. There are 155 leaves. Every leaf measures 1½:5 inches and contains 6 lines on the pages of some and 7 lines on the pages of some leaves written on both sides but partly considerably damaged.

measures 1:11 inches and contains 5 lines on the pages of some and 6 lines on the pages of some leaves written on both sides, but broken and greatly worm-eaten. The copy is, however, made very carefully, although it was difficult and troublesome. "

I appreciate fully the trouble of the scribe and am very grateful to him for the care employed by him. This is my second best manuscript. In the Apabhraṁśa section I have chiefly relied on the text of this manuscript, bacause it not only gives full quotations but also their Sanskrit translation and in some places even the Prakrit gaṇas.

D. Adyar Library Ms. in Telugu characters. 168 pages. 14 to 16 lines on a page. This manuscript is very old and worm-eaten. Complete and tolerably free from mistakes.

Dr. Schrader, the Librarian at that place, has most kindly placed at my disposal this and the next manuscript on the recommendation of Prof. Hultzsch. It has been specially useful to me because it is very old and its readings are good.

E. Adyar Library Ms. in Nāgarī characters. 152 pages. 24 to 26 lines on a page. This manuscript is incomplete but free from mistakes. The text of the sūtras (66 pages) is also given.

F. A copy of a manuscript of Trivikramavṛtti which is mentioned in Oppert's Catalogue, Vol. 1, No. 7998. Nāgarī characters 274 pages. 23 lines on a page. Complete with the exception of some lacunae. Faulty in many places and carelessly compared.

This copy was made for me in Vizagapatam and I obtained it through Dr. Thomas. In spite of its numerous mistakes, it has been very useful to me because the Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit quotations is complete here and important various readings of three other manuscripts, with which it is compared, are given here and there.

(P. 16) G. A manuscript of Trivikrama's Vyākaraṇa with vṛtti and a special appendix of the sūtras. Burnell Collection No. 84. In Grantha characters. 208 pages. About 20 lines on a page. At the end 64 pages of the sūtras. The original of this manuscript is found in the Palace Library at Tanjore. Incomplete and faulty.

G.[1] A copy of the manuscript G. made by Prof. Pischel in Roman characters.

The manuscript G. belongs to India Office Library in London and was placed at my disposal by Dr. Thomas. Prof. Pischel's transcript G[1] was most kindly lent to me by Mrs. Pischel on the recommendation of Prof. Hultzsch. Pischel's copy was very useful to me in deciphering the original manuscript G. as well as the manuscript A.

In addition to the Latin copy of Prof. Pischel, I have another Nāgarī copy of a Tanjore manuscript belonging to him whose original is Ms. 10006, collated in the sūtra with Ms. 10004 : but as this copy is full of mistakes in every line, it could render no service to me and besides, the above described manuscript C. which I got later, was compared with the original of this copy.

In addition to these important manuscripts, I have been able to make use of the first chapter of Trivikrama's Grammar which has been published in the Granthpradarśanī Series of Vizagapatam and another manuscript from the Adyar Library which contains the sūtras alone. The number of the sūtras given in this manuscript is much greater than in any of the others because the scribe as it appears, divided the last sūtra about Deśī-words into many different sūtras which does not appear to be correct.

In addition to all these manuscripts which have the Grammar of Trivikrama directly for their matter, I have very often consulted the standard work of the Late Prof. Pischel "Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen" which is published in the "Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie" (1900) and his critical edition of Hemacandra's Grammar (1880) together with that published later in the Bombay Series (1900). A critical examination of Hemacandra's Grammar, on which Trivikrama has very much depended, was very necessary for me, not only to know where Trivikrama has directly copied but also to establish where he has differed from Hemacandra and in this I was very greatly assisted by the learned Sanskritist Prof. Zachariae of the University of Halle, with whom I (P. 17) had the advantage of reading some portions of this as well as of some Pali Jātaka.

I owe special thanks to the learned editor[1] of the "Granthapradarśanī" who recently published for my use the text of Trivikrama's sūtras and has marked the end of the lines of the verse in which the sūtras are couched. That the sūtras possess a metrical form, I had already guessed from Trivikrama's own statement in the second of the concluding verses (see pages 20-21, (192-193)) where he styled his grammar a poem, as well as from the rhythm of some of the sūtras which form complete half or quarter verses; but their publication spared me a great deal of trouble and helped me to a certain degree in the question about the authorship of the sūtras.

Before I conclude this section I must remark that the following works on Prakrit Grammar, in addition to those already mentioned, have been carefully examined and utilized:

Vararuci: Prākṛtaprakāśa by Prof. Cowell, London 1668.

Mārkaṇḍeya: Prākṛtasarvasva by Bhattanatha Svamin[2], Vizagapatam. Granthapradarśanī Series, 1912.

Lakṣmīdhara: Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā, with the text of Trivikrama's sūtras etc. Mysore 1886.

Pischel: "Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa". Berlin 1902,

CHAPTER II

THE SŪTRAS AND THE VṚTTI.

As this Chapter of my dissertation will demand a continual reference to the introductory and concluding verses found in the manuscripts of Trivikrama's work, I first give them here with various readings and their translation.

Introductory verses as they stand in the manuscripts:

श्रीवीरं[1] प्रच्याचलसमुदितमखिलप्रकाशकं[2] वन्दे ।
दिव्यध्वनिपटुदीधितिमहमक्षरपद्धतिप्राप्त्यै ॥ १ ॥

[1] ABCG श्रीवीरमा°. [2] B °प्रकाशनं.

1 This was my eldest brother, S. P. V. Ranganathaswami Aryavaraguru of Vizagapatam who died in 1918. (Tr.)

2 This was my second brother who died in 1916. (Tr.)

Translation :

"I bow before Śrī-Vīra, who has arisen hither from the eastern mountains (or, who is the first among the great masters in olden times—lit. high among the mountains in the form of the old (P. 18) sages), who contributes all light (or, who infuses all knowledge, i. e. all Prakrit Grammarian's knowledge of the Prakrit), whose voice is godly (and therefore not erring) and whose lustre is bright, to secure the path of Prakrit words (who, as he is covered with the darkness of ignorance, wants strong light and oral directions of an infallible guide)."

श्रुतभर्तुरहंनन्दित्रैविद्यमुनेः पदाम्बुजभ्रमरः ।
श्रीबाणसु[1]कुलकमलशुभणेरादित्यशर्मणः[2] पौत्रः[3] ॥ २ ॥
श्रीमल्लिनाथपुत्रो लक्ष्मीगर्भामृताम्बुधिसुधांशुः ।
भामस्य वृत्तविद्याधाम्नो[4] भ्राता त्रिविक्रमः सुकविः ॥ ३ ॥

[1] F °बाणसकुल° [2] BCF °वर्मणः, AF °शर्मणः [3] B पु(पौ)त्रः
[4] B °ना(धा)म्नो.

"The distinguished poet, Trivikrama is a bee at the lotus-like feet of that Arhanandi Traividyamuni who possesses the ability to keep in mind what was heard once, a grandson of Ādityaśarman – a son for the lotus of the distinguished family of Śrī-Bāṇa[1] a son of Mallināṭha, a moon from the nectar ocean in the form of the womb of Lakṣmī (i. e. as the moon came forth from the ocean, so was he born from the womb of his mother Lakṣmī) and a brother of Bhāma—the place of the doctrine of prosody."

श्रीवीरसेन[1]जिनसेनार्यादिवचःपयोधिपू[2]रात्कतिचित् ।
प्राकृतपदरत्नानि प्रकृतिकृती[3] सुकृतिभूषणाय चिनोति ॥ ४ ॥

[1] AB श्रीवीरवीरसेनान्यश्रीयवचः° ; ACDEF also as here.
[2] AF पयोनिधेः पारात् ; B पयोनिधेः कतिचित् ; ACDEF also as here.
[3] B प्रतिकृतिसुकृति° ; F प्राकृतकृतसुकृत° ; AC also as here.

" Well versed in the Sanskrit (which is the Prakṛti, the source of the Prakrit) he collects some precious stones of Prakrit words from the flood of the ocean of words of Śrī-Vīrasena, Jinasena and other great personalities, to embellish his excellent work."

1 More properly Śrī-Bāṇasa or rather Vāṇasa. The reading of F. is to be preferred, (Tr.)

अनल्पार्थः[1] सुखोच्चारः शब्दः सादित्यजीवितम् ।
स च प्राकृतमेवेति मतं सूत्रा[2]नुवर्तिनाम् ॥ ५ ॥

[1] CF °र्थ: सुखो° ; ABDE °र्थसुखो°, [2] F[2] सूक्तानु°.

"A word which has much meaning and which is easily pronounced, is the soul of poesy ; and it is also Prakrit. This is the opinion of the followers of the sūtras (i. e. of the Jaina sūtra or Kalpasūtra (?) ; (P. 19) with the reading *Śūktānuvartinām* : of the followers of the good observations of Śrī-Vīra and others ?)."

प्राकृतं तत्समं देश्यं तद्भवं चेत्यदस्त्रिधा ।
तत्समं संस्कृतसमं नेयं संस्कृतलक्ष्मणा ॥ ६ ॥

"The Prakrit has three varieties : Tatsama, Tadbhava and Deśya. Tatsama is that which is identical with the Sanskrit and is to be known under the definition of the Sanskrit."

देश्यमार्षं च रूढत्वात्स्वतन्त्रत्वाच्च भूयसा ।
लक्ष्म नापेक्षते[1] तस्य संप्रदायो हि बोधकः ॥ ७ ॥

[1] B लक्षणं वक्ष्यते तस्य संप्रदायोपबोधकैः and लक्ष्म न प्रेक्ष्यते ; C लक्ष्म नापेक्ष्यते.

"Deśya and Arṣa need no definition, as they are well known and in great part independent [of rules] ; but the usage [of the classical authors] explains them."

प्रकृतेः संस्कृतात्साध्यमानात्सिद्धाच्च यद्भवेत् ।
प्राकृतस्यास्य लक्ष्यानुरोधि लक्ष्म प्रचक्ष्महे ॥ ८ ॥

"We will give the explanation of that Prakrit which is derived from the Sanskrit, which is the source of the former—of the Sanskrit words while they are still nascent (*Sādhyamānāt*—i. e. of the Sanskrit words which have not yet assumed their final form before they have heen transformed into the Prakrit—; e. g. *Śirah* and *Vedanā* are changed in the Prakrit into *Siraveaṇā* before it is changed into *Śiroredanā* in the Sanskrit), as well as of those Sanskrit words which are already ready made (*Siddhāt* i. e. of the Sanskrit words which have assumed their form before they are changed into the Prakrit ; e. g. the Sanskrit *Śirovedanā* is changed in the Prakrit to *Siroveaṇā* ; of Tri. 1.2.95)."

प्राकृतपदार्थसार्थप्राप्त्यै निजसूत्रमार्गमनुजिगमिषताम्[1] ।
वृत्तिर्यथार्थसिद्ध्यै त्रिविक्रमेणागमक्रमात्[2] क्रियते ॥ ९ ॥

[1] B °षता. [2] F °क्रमेण.

"For the right comprehension [of the sūtras] a commentary is written by Trivikrama in conformity with the tradition for those who wish to follow the path of his sūtras in order to obtain the multitude of the Prakrit words and their significance, just as for a certain result (i. e. in order to free them from the wordly cares relating to their own maintenance) [on their way to redemption] (P. 20) livelihood [the people] is allowed in conformity with the tradition [of the holy writers and the practice of the early contributors] for the welfare of those who follow the thread-like path [shown by Śrī-Vīra] for reaching the multitude of human ends (namely Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa or Nirvāṇa)."

तद्भवतत्समदेश्यप्राकृतरूपाणि पश्यतां विदुषाम् ।
दर्पणतयेयमवनौ वृत्तिस्त्रैविक्रमी जयति ॥ १० ॥

"The commentary of Trivikrama gloriously reigns on the earth as a mirror for the use of the learned who wish to see the Prakrit forms—Tatsama, Tadbhava and Deśya."

प्राकृतरूपाणि यथा प्राच्यैरा हेमचन्द्रार्यात् ।
विवृतानि तथा तानि प्रतिबिम्बन्तीह सर्वाणि ॥ ११ ॥

"The Prakrit forms as they have been explained by earlier authors including Hemacandra are repeated here (lit. reflected)"

The following three are the concluding verses :

सप्रत्ययप्रकृतिसिद्धमदीर्घसूत्रं सत्कारकं बहुविधक्रियमाप्तदेश्यम् ।
शब्दानुशासनमिदं प्रगुणप्रयोगं त्रैविक्रमं जपत[1] मन्त्रमिवार्थसिद्ध्यै ॥ १२ ॥

[1] F^1 जयति ; F^2 जपत.

"For the attainment of the exact meaning, study (lit. repeat) this grammer of Trivikrama, which is provided with the roots of words and the inflexions, short sūtras, verbal derivation, variants of the verbal forms and several quotations, and which is worthy to be taught by trustworthy teachers ; just as one repeats a spell for the acquisition of a treasure which, though successful by itself has been confirmed already through experience (which requires short threads ?) (or which bears fruit in a short time ?), which makes one attended by another, which demands many Tāntric rites, which has many applications (i. e. which can be used for many other things besides to gain wealth) and which must be taught by authentic teachers (i. e. by those who have not violated

the rules prescribed by the Tāntrikas, in order to prove the efficacy of the spell)."

विशन्नन्तः श्रोत्रं पदमधुरिमा मेदुरयति
प्रणेता[1] नूत्नोऽर्थः प्रतिपदमहो साधुवचनम्[2]।
(P. 21) रसः पात्रीकुर्याद्भुवनमनुभावादिव कृते-[3]
र्यदि काव्यं श्राव्यं मम रसिकनैयायिकजनैः॥ १३॥

[1] F[1] प्रणेतुर्नू°; F[2] प्रणेता··· [2] F[1] °वचसाम्. [3] F[3] कृते यदि.

"The harmony of the words [used in this work] which penetrates into the ear becomes manifold; a new (i.e. not repeated or expressed earlier) meaning leads you to every word;—Oh! how beautiful [is] the [choice of the] words! Throughout the extent of the work, the poetic sense, so to say, fills the three worlds (lit. will make the three worlds its reservoir), if my poem is heard by people who can appreciate the art of poetry (i.e. who have a poetic sense) and whose mind is practised in Logic (i e. who can distinguish between faultless and faulty statements)."

वक्तारः सन्तु सर्वेपि स्वाभिप्रायप्रकाशने।
स्वपदाश[1]यसंवादिकथास्वेकस्त्रिविक्रमः॥ १४॥

[1] BF स्वपराशय°; ACD स्वपदाशय°.

"All may interpret this work (or a work like this) as they understand it, but where agreement between the words used by the author and the meaning aimed at by him through these words is spoken of, there is only one interpreter and that is Trivikrama."

Vālmīki as the author of the sūtras.

There exists a dispute about the authorship of the sūtras to which Trivikrama has written a commentary. The same sūtras were used by Trivikrama, Siṁharāja, Lakṣmīdhara and Appaya Dīkṣita in their grammars Prākṛtaśabdānuśāsana, Prākṛtarūpāvatāra, Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā and Prākṛtamaṇidīpa. Of these Siṁharāja and Appaya Dīkṣita give no information as to who the author of the sūtras was. Lakṣmīdhara attributes them to Vālmīki in the following verses:[1]

1 Mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

वाग्देवी जननी येषां वाल्मीकिर्मूलसूत्रकृत्।
भाषाप्रयोगा ज्ञेयास्ते षड्भाषाचन्द्रिकाध्वना॥

(Ind. Antiq. Vol. XL, p. 219).

Translation

"The forms of the [Prakrit] language, whose source (lit. mother) is the Goddess of Speech and whose original sūtras Vālmīki has composed, should be found by the street shown by Śabḍhāṣācandrikā, the moonlight of the six languages."

(P. 22) This verse is also quoted in the Madras Oriental MSS. Catalogue; Vol. 3 No. 1552. There is another manuscript (No. 1548) in the Madras Oriental MSS. Library, which contains only the sūtras from the first two chapters and which is attributed to Vālmīki by the scribe in the following two verses quoted in the above-mentioned Catalogue:

2 by another copyist

येन निर्मलिता ना(गा)वः षड्भाषाकृतयो नृणाम् ।
विमलैः सूक्त(त्र)कतकैस्तस्मै वाल्मीकये नमः ॥

Translation

"I bow before Vālmīki who has cleansed the (forms of the) speech because he established the six languages with the unstained cleaning Kataka-seeds (in the form) of the sūtras (or good utterance, if we take the other reading—but I believe sūtra is probably what the author intended)."

स्वान्तस्य काव्येन गिरां च षण्णां सूत्रैर्नराणां कलुषं प्रपत्त्या ।
पराकरोद्यः प्रथमः कवीनां वाल्मीकिमेनं मुनिमानतोस्मि ॥

Translation

"I bow before the wise Vālmīki, the first of the poets, who expelled the darkness from the hearts of men through his poem (Rāmāyaṇa) and removed the ignorance of the six languages of men as he composed the sūtras.

Trivikrama, however, is the only author who, in the verse "*prākṛtapadārthasārtha—*" (see page 19 (191)) with which he begins his commentary, used the words "*nijasūtramārgam*", from which one could, in the usual manner conclude that the sūtras were composed by himself. First Prof. Pischel and then Prof. Hultzsch have, however, tried to explain this sentence in another way, (see p. V and VI of Prof. Hultzsch's Preface to his edition of the Prākṛtarūpāvatāra, London 1909), and I therefore overlook it as an argument for the establishment of the authorship of the sūtras although it contains a direct statement of the author.

There are thus two opinions as to who the author is. Some are of opinion that Vālmīki is the author and of this (view) are the Prakrit Grammarian, Lakṣmīdhara, the copyist of the manuscript 1548 named above and Prof. Hultzsch. Prof. Pischel also was at first on this side, but in a footnote in his "Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen" (see page 42, §38, note 2) he has noted that Trivikrama is the author of the sūtras also and that he himself has misconceived "*nijasūtramārgam*," in the verse "*prākṛtapadārtha—*" (see page 19, (191)). (P. 23) After this confession on the part of Prof. Pischel it is wholly unjust of Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin to criticise Prof. Pischel in the article about Trivikrama (Ind. Antiq. Vol. XL, page 220)[1]. The real source of this opinion appears to be, as has been already noted by the editor of the Granthapradarśanī and Bhaṭṭanātha in his article mentioned above, a manuscript of Trivikrama's grammar which has the reading "*Prāc-tasa-Hemacandrādyāt*" for *Prācyair-ā-Hemacandrāryaiḥ* (or *Prācyair-ā-Hemacandrādyāt*) in the verse beginning with "*Prākṛtarūpāṇi...*" (see page 20 (192)). Lakṣmīdhara had probably this reading before him when he wrote "*Vālmīkir-mūlasūtrakṛt*" in the verse beginning with "*Vāgdevī...*" (see p,. 21 (193)). The remark of the scribe of the Madras MS. No. 1548 of Trivikrama's sūtras as well as the verse of Lakṣmīdhara, "*Vāgdevī—*" are given in the Madras Catalogue of Prof. Rangāeārya (Mad. Cat. of Skt. MSS. p, 1084 and 1091). On the strength of this source, Prof. Hultzsch assumed that Vālmīki, and not Trivikrama, to be the author of the sūtras and after he had thus fixed Vālmīki's authorship, he tried to explain the word "*nijasūtra...*" quoted above, whilst he ascribed to "*nija*" in this compound the rather unusual meaning "true", the only way which, as to any other, remained open to him who possessed no better means to decide the authorship of the sūtras.

Later supports to the view.

The other view is that Trivikrama composed the sūtras and has written his own commentary. The first hint to this view was given by the editor of the collection, Granthapradarśanī which

Trivikrama as the author of the sūtras.

1 The fact is that Mr. Bhaṭṭanāthasvāmin had no access to the subsequent remark of Prof. Pischel. (Tr.)

began to appear in the year 1895 in Vizagapatam. The first Chapter of Trivikrama's Grammar was published in this series and in a foot note to the verse "*prākṛtapadārtha...*" the editor made the statement, based simply and solely on the authority of the word "*nija*", that the sūtras were composed by Trivikrama and that Laksmīdhara and the manuscript on which he has probably relied are wrong when they attribute the sūtras to Vālmīki.

For our purpose, however, neither the statement which refers to the single word "*nija*" when the authorship of the sūtras has been called in question by Laksmīdhara, nor the other view which solely rests on the statement of Laksmīdhara and of another copyist without any other confirmatory testimony, is of great consequence. We will, therefore, establish the authorship from other sources and try to solve these contentious points later.

Supported by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin.

(P. 24) Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin of Vizagapatam, in a paper on Trivikrama (Ind. Ant, Vol. XL, p. 219), which is written in an excessively sharp language, has tried to prove the authorship of the sūtras from independent grounds. His chief arguments are two:

1. The sūtras commented upon by Trivikrama are written in metrical form — in Āryā and Anuṣṭubh — (while though the same sūtras are used by Simharāja, Laksmīdhara and Appaya Dīksita their order is altered by them).

2. Passages in the introductory and concluding verses of the work point to Trivikrama's authorship. The passages to which he refers are: (a) "*pracakṣmahe*" in the First Person in verse 8 (see p. 19 (191)) shows that Trivikrama is also the author of the sūtras; (b) how can "*adīrghasūtram*" in the concluding verse 1 (see p. 20 (192)) be a compliment to his work if he were not the author of the sūtras?

As to the statement of Laksmīdhara, he says, as the editor of the Granthapradarśanī, he might have had before him a false reading of the verse "*prākṛtarūpāṇi.....*" (see p. 20 (192)). The

disputed word "*nija*" in the compound "*nijasūtramārgam*" has of course on this view the usual significance.

Criticism of Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin's view.

As to the first argument about the metrical form of the sūtras [it] can be said that it is not in itself wholly convincing although it is a good confirmatory and secondary argument. That the sūtras are really written in metrical form is now doubtless proved by the learned editor of the Granthapradarśanī who had lately published the sūtras and marked the beginning and end of the verses. (It may however be remarked here that in the text referred to above the last three sūtras form a half verse which is incomplete). But it would not wholly be improbable if we supposed that Trivikrama himself had only given a metrical form to the sūtras composed in another order by another author before him. Further, it is not impossible to bring the same sūtras into another metre, e. g. into "Sragdharā" or "Śārdūlavikrīḍita". And of the two passages picked up by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin, the second "*adīrghasūtram*" is not convincing as a compliment to the work when it is taken by itself because a commentator too can make a plainly actual statement about the sūtras of the grammar which he comments upon. Now [there] remains ,yet only the word "*pracakṣame*" which although a very good argument, stands by itself and is therefore not sufficient.

(P. 25) After I had spoken of the two views in this way, I will give briefly my arguments in favour of Trivikrama's authorship.

External evidence.

The sole external evidence[1] is the remark made by Lakṣmīdhara and the scribe of the Manuscript 1548 of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library. No other author, as far as I know, refers to Vālmīki as a writer on Prakrit; further we have no other work on Prakrit by Vālmīki. The reading "*Prācetasa...*" for "*Prācyair ā Hema...*" is however actually found in the MS. F. as has already been observed above. The manuscript mentioned, No.1548, has only two chapters and the scribe believes, as we observe

1 See, however, my paper on the "Trivikrama Sūtras" in the Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 121ff. (Tr.)

from the colophon, that the work is complete. Hence it follows that the scribe named knew neither Trivikrama's nor Lakṣmīdhara's commentary and perhaps his manuscript is the one used by Lakṣmīdhara.[1] Whichever relation Lakṣmīdhara and this scribe might have to each other, we must for want of any other confirmatory evidence and because the reading "*Prācetasa...*" is actually found in the MS. F., declare that one cannot say of Vālmīki's authorship, be it proved on the authority of both these writers.

Internal evidence.

The internal evidence is, however, satisfactory. In the fourteen introductory and concluding verses are found many direct statements of Trivikrama that he has composed the sūtras as well as the commentary. The most important and emphatic statement is made in the last verse of the concluding part. Namely :

Chief arguments, 1.

स्वपदाशयसंवादिकथास्वेकस्त्रिविक्रमः (स्वपदानां स्वाशयस्य च संवादिकथासु त्रिविक्रम एक एव श्रोतव्य इत्यर्थः)

Here he says that the words, i. e. those of the sūtras, were composed by himself and in order to avoid misunderstanding as to what he meant by those words, he begs us to read his own commentary. The other reading "*svaparāśaya ..*" yields almost the same sense. This remark shows Trivikrama's pride as he expects that there will be many commentators to his sūtras which has turned out to be true. Siṁharāja, Lakṣmīdhara and Appaya Dīkṣita have actually commented on the same sūtras. A similar boastful remark is found in the second of the final verses where he styles his grammar a poem and [there] is certainly the entire satisfication of the Master of Logic and the poetical art. It may be mentioned here that Mārkaṇḍeya also styles himself a poet and his grammar, a poem.

2.

(P. 26) The second important and likewise convincing statement of Trivikrama is found in the first of the concluding verses "*sapratyaya...*" (see page 20 (192)). Here certainly the following passage इदमदीर्घसूत्रं प्रणवप्रयोगे त्रैविक्रमं शब्दानुशासनम् taken in conjunction (not simply "*adīrghasūtram*") proves that the sūtras

1 This cannot be the case of my paper referred to above. (Tr.)

as well as the commentary have been composed by Trivikrama. In the first place "*Traivikramaṁ śabdānuśāsanam*" cannot itself refer to his vṛtti alone, still less to the sūtras only ; for, if this passage should have meant the vṛtti only ; then he would have used a word like *vṛtti* or *vivaraṇa* and not *śabdānuśāsana*; if, on the contrary, the passage were to signify only the sūtras and not the commentary, then, it is needless to dwell upon it, as there is not the least ground to question his authorship of the commentary it would be heard to explain the adjectives "*sapratyayaprakṛti-siddham*" and "*praguṇaprayogam*".

The third important statement, besides those spoken of above namely, "*prākṛtasya lakṣyānurodhi lakṣma pracakṣmahe.*" in verse 8th of the introductory part, points to the fact that Trivikrama, who is the author of the commentary, gives also the definition of the Prakrit, which is strictly speaking the work of the author of the sūtras and not the commentary.

3.

New division of the introductory verses.
4.

Here a very noteworthy point which has been perceived by none of the critics of this work throws clear light on the contested authorship of the sūtras. Of the eleven verses which are found in all the manuscripts at the beginning of the work before the first sūtra "*siddhir lokāc ca*", the first eight verses refer to the sūtras and the first sūtra "*siddhir*" should stand immediately after them, while the last three refer only to the commentary and therefore, should stand at the beginning of the commentary. In the eighth verse Trivikrama says he will expound the Prakrit in accordance with actual forms used by the earlier authors ("*lakṣyānurodhi lakṣma*")—but in the next verse instead of finding the expected exposition, we hear only of his commentary. On the other hand, if we read the sūtra "*siddhir lokāc ca*" immediately after the eighth verse, the connection becomes at once clear, because he explains the word "*lokāt*" by "*loka-vyavahārāt*" which agrees with his earlier statement "*lakṣyānurodhi lakṣma pracakṣmahe*".

This necessary new division of the introductory verses proves that the author of the sūtras is the same as that of the commentary for he has composed the eight verses which refer to the sūtras as well as the three which refer to the commentary.

(P. 27) When Trivikrama's authorship of the sūtras is thus proved from direct and emphatic statements of Trivikrama himself, the contentious word "*nija*" in the compound "*nijasūtramārgam*" which occurs in the verse "*prākṛtapadārthasārtha...*" (see page 19 (191)) necessarily means "my own".

Meaning of "*nija*"

In addition to these statements in the introductory and concluding verses, we find the following in a passage of the commentary to the sūtra "*astor akhor acaḥ*" (1-3-7):

5. यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रामिष्यामस्तद् अस्तोरसंयुक्तस्य..... इति वेदितव्यम् ।

Here the commentator speaks in the First Person as if he were also the author of the sūtras, for if he were not the author, he would have said "*anukramiṣyati*" instead of "*anukramiṣyāmaḥ*". This reading with the First Person is, however, found only in the manuscript C. The others have the reading "*anukramiṣyate*".

After this treatment of the chief arguments which directly establish Trivikrama's authorship of the sūtras, I shall briefly adduce some secondary [ones] which further strengthen the conclusive force of the chief arguments. Trivikrama's statements can be no plagiarisms, because he declares the source of his knowledge and even mentions the grammarian Hemacandra by name, from whom he borrowed so much. If the sūtras commented upon by him were composed by another grammarian, he would certainly have mentioned it. Siṁharāja, who made a selection from these sūtras for his work, Prākṛtarūpāvatāra, and who was not probably very far removed in time from Trivikrama, would have noted Trivikrama's plagiarism, if it is a question of such [a thing]. Siṃharāja's silence could be explained in this way that, as Brahman, he would not be willing to mention a Jain by name at the beginning of his work, after he had invoked a Brahmanical deity in maṅgalācaraṇa. Lakṣmīdhara's statement has already been explained as probably due to a false reading of the manuscript ("*Prācetasa...*" instead of "*pracyaur ā Hema...*"). Finally it may yet be remarked that it is

Secondary arguments.

1. No plagiarism.

2. Explanation of Siṁharāja's silence.

3. Lakṣmīdhara's statement explainable

not unusual in India for authors to compose sūtras or kārikās and write their own commentary thereon. Hemacandra has done the same before him, Mārkaṇḍeya has written his own commentary, Annambhaṭṭa the "Tarkadīpikā" to his own "Tarkasaṁgraha", Viśvanātha Pañcānana composed the Nyāyakārikās and has written his own commentary "Muktāvalī", and there are still many other cases that the author has written his own commentary.

4. Authors who wrote their own commentary not unusual. Some examples.

(P. 28) Thus through this full and convincing internal evidence Trivikrama's authorship of the sūtras is, as I believe, undoubtedly established, and if I too, coming to this conclusion, have to differ from the learned critics who have written about this point before me, either from their final opinion or from their manner of handling the evidence, the fact is I think, only that the material at my disposal is as complete as that of any other.

CHAPTER III

A. TRIVIKRAMA'S TIME AND PERSONALITY

In the introductory verses Trivikrama says of himself that he is the grandson of Ādityaśarman (or -varman) and the son of Mallinātha and belongs to the excellent family of Bāṇa.[1] The name of his mother was Lakṣmī while his brother who was a master of Prosody was called Bhāma. He styles himself a great poet ; but we know of no poem written by him. This title, poet, stands however in harmony with his own remark in the second of the concluding verses that his grammar is a very important poem. He invokes Mahāvīra for his blessing and says he is the disciple of Arhanandi Traividyamuni, which shows that he was a follower of the Jain religion. The addition of *śarman* (or *varman*) to the name of his grandfather in verse 2 (see page 18 (190)) might perhaps signify that he was a follower of Brahmanism because the words *śarman* or *varman* indicate that the persons so marked belong to the Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya caste. He or his father perhaps changed his religion.

Trivikrama says nothing as to when he lived. He mentions Hemacandra by name and his sūtras were utilized by Siṁharāja, Lakṣmīdhara and Appaya Dīkṣita. Hemancandra's time is, as is

1 See my note to the second of the introductory verses given above (p.190). (Tr.)

well known, from 1088 to 1172 (Pischel, Gr. §36). And the youngest of these grammarians, Appaya Dīkṣita, lived in the second half of the 16th century of the Christian Era (Pischel, Gr. §41).

The patron of Appaya Dīkṣita was a prince, Chinnabomma, the son of Chinavīra and the father of Liṅgamanāyaka. These Princes are mentioned in the Vilāpāka-deed of gift of Śakasaṁvat 1523 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 127 note 17) and in the inscription of (P. 29) Appaya Dīkṣita's patron, Chinnabommanāyaka of Velūr in Śakasaṁvat 1471 and 1488 (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 69 and 84). From the colophon of Kuvalayānanda (Oxford Cat. p. 213a) it follows that Appaya Dīkṣita was still living during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I. of Pennakoṇḍa whose inscriptions fall in Śakasaṁvat 1508–1535 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 155 and Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 238, table ; Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India, No. 2 by Prof. Hultzsch, p. XIII). Hence it follows that Appaya Dīkṣita lived in the second half of the 16th century.

Appaya Dīkṣita refers to Lakṣmīdhara. In the "Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India, No. 3" (pages VIII and IX), Prof. Hultzsch says that "Śrutirañjanī" a commentary on "Gītagovinda", which is attributed to Tirumalarāja I. of the third Vijayanagara Dynasty, has been in reality composed by Lakṣmaṇasūri who is the same as our Lakṣmīdhara and who attributes the commentary to his patron, Tirumalarāja. In the introductory remarks about the "Kuniyur plates of the time of Veṅkaṭa II., Śakasaṁvat 1556" (Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 238 and the table opposite), H. Krishna Śāstri mentions the three brothers, Rāma II. Tirumala I. and Veṅkaṭādri. Rāma II., the minister of Sadāśiva, the last king of the second Vijayanagara-Dynasty and the youngest brother of Veṅkaṭādri died in the Battle of Tālikoṭa on the 23rd January 1565. Tirumala I. acknowledges nominally the authority of King Sadāśiva in four inscriptions dated under the 5th February 1567. Hence it follows that Laksmīdhara must have lived in the middle of the 16th century, i. e. shortly before the time of Appaya Dīkṣita.

Then comes Siṁharāja as the next in the series.

The only thing that he says about himself is (in the second of the introductory verses to his grammar, Prākṛtarūpāvatāra) that his father's name was Sindhubandha who wrote a commentary to an Alaṁkāra work and that it was a dam across the ocean of poesy. The verse mentioned runs in the following manner :

सेतुं व्याख्यानरूपं गहनमकृत यः शास्त्रसाहित्यसिन्धो-[1]
र्बुद्ध्या बद्ध्वा[2] यथार्थां व्यरचयत निजां सिन्धुबन्धेति संज्ञाम् ।
नत्वा तं यायजूकं निगमविधिविदं तातमस्य प्रसादा-
दुक्तं रूपावतारं विरचयति मितं सिंहराद् प्राकृतीयम् ॥

[1] °सिद्धान्तासिन्धो° [2] बुध्द्वा.

(P. 1 of the Prākṛtarūpāvatāra, ed. by Prof. Hultzsch.)

(P. 30) In this verse the compound "*Śāstrasāhityasindhoḥ*" is rather unusual. If we conceive the first two words "*śāstra*" and "*sāhitya*" as a Dvandva compound, as Prof. Hultzsch has done (cf. his remarks on page 8 of the Preface to his edition of the "Prākṛtarūpāvatāra") and understand by this compound the "ocean of science and poetics" then the only difficulty offering itself is that only one commentary is mentioned here ; for it is wholly improbable to assume only one commentary to all sciences and to poetics—which (poetics) as one of them is not to be employed separately by name—unless we assume that the word "*setu*" can be taken with every particular science. The only other possibility is to assume that the compound is peculiarly formed— a Karmadhāraya— and stands for "*sāhityaśāstra*" and so means the science of "*sāhitya*" i. e. Poetics. If we accept the second interpretation which, as I believe, is the most probable, we obtain a clue to the time of Samudrabandha and consequently also of Siṁharāja. The word "*setu*" (bridge) in the verse is not to be taken as a proper name of the commentary written by Samudrabandha but is probably a figurative expression for "commentary", for the commented work of Maṅkhaka, "Alaṁkāra-sarvasva" by name, is compared with the ocean by Samudra-bandha (see p. 2 of the Preface to "Pradyumnābhyudaya" by G. Śāstrī. Trivandrum 1910). The verses cited by Śāstrī are as follows:

कदाचिमङ्खकोपज्ञं काव्यालंकारलक्षणम् ।
प्रदर्श्य रविवर्माणं प्रार्थयन्त विपश्चितः ॥

गम्भीरं नास्तितीर्षूणां मङ्कुकग्रन्थसागरम् ।
नौरस्तु भवतः प्रज्ञा स्थेयसी यदुनन्दन ॥
.
इत्युक्त्वैष मनीषावैभवपरिभूतवासवाचार्यः ।
बुधपरिषदलंकारो व्याख्यदलंकारसर्वस्वम् ॥
अवधृत्यै यदुपतिना विवृतस्य गरीयसस्तदर्थस्य ।
काश्चिद्व्यधित विपश्चिच्छन्दनिबन्धं समुद्रबन्धाख्यः ॥

J. [T ?] Gaṇapati Śāstrī, the editor of the Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarmadeva, says in his preface (page 2, note 2), that a palm-leaf manuscript of Samudrabandha's work about 300 years old is found in the Library of the Maharaja of Travancore and quotes several verses from the work. In these verses Samudrabandha refers (P. 31) to Ravivarmadeva and his work on poetics which appears to be a commentary on Maṅkhaka's "Alaṁkārasarvasva" and says this (Alaṁkārasarvasva) was like an ocean to which he (Samudrabandha) had written a simple commentary, which could be named "*setu*" (bridge), but the commentary of Ravivarmadeva might be compared to a boat (*nauḥ*). While he illustrates the Alaṁkāras in his commentary, Samudrabandha praises Ravivarmadeva and refers to him as Saṁgrāmadhīra king of Rūpaka, [one] who has a capital Kolamba by name etc. Hence it follows, as has been shown by Gaṇapati Śāstrī, that this Saṁgrāmadhīra Ravivarmadeva is the same of whom we know from three inscriptions—two edited by Prof. Kielhorn (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, pages 145-152) and one by Prof. Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. Vol, VIII, pages 8-9)—that he was born in 1266-67. Ravivarmadeva's bynames and descriptions, which Samudrabandha used in the commentary mentioned above, are also found in the Pradyumnābhyudaya, from which it can be perceived that Samudrabandha actually composed the drama Pradyumanābhyudaya under the name of his patron Ravivarmadeva, as Appaya Dīkṣita had done with his Prākṛtamaṇidīpa and Lakṣmīdhara with his Śrutirañjanī. This establishes that Ravivarmadeva and Samudrabandha, the father of Siṁharāja, were contemporaries—on the supposition, however, that the father of Siṁharāja and Samudrabandha who wrote a commentary on Alaṁkārasarvasva are identical, which follows from my interpretation of the

compound "*Śāstrasāhityasindhoḥ*"[1] (see pages 60–61). That "Samudrabandhayajvan" and "Samudrabandha" are identical follows from the fact that Siṁharāja in the second of his introductory verses divides the word "Samudrabandhayajvan"; he speaks of his father as "Sindhubandha" which is a synonym of "Samudrabandha" and calls him in the second half of the same verse with the title "*yāyajūkam*" which is the same as "*yajvānam*". It follows, therefore, that the whole word Samudrabandhayajvan is not the name of Siṁharāja's father but that Samudrabandha is his name and "*yajvan*" his title. The name "Samudrabandha" and his (P. 32) title "*yajvan*" are found close to each other in the colophon of chapters XIII, XVII and XXII of the Prākṛtarūpāvatāra of Prof. Hultzsch. We thus see that Siṁharāja probably lived in the beginning of the 14th century.

As to Trivikrama's time Prof. Pischel in his Prakrit Grammar (§38) says "that he is cited by name 218, 21 besides anonymously 62, 19ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4 by Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha in his commentary on Vidyānātha's Pratāparudrīya (ed. Madras 1868). Pratāparudra II. to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295–1323 Aufrecht's assumption is thereby confirmed that Mallinātha cannot have lived before the 14th century."[2] Trivikrama will thus have probably to be placed in the 13th century."

This statement of Prof. Pischel agrees well with the date of Siṁharāja fixed above. It is not very likely that Siṁharāja would utilize Trivikrama's sūtras and write a commentary if they had been contemporaries. On these considerations we have to place Trivikrama in the 13th century.

1 The remark made by Prof. Hultzsch (see p. VIII of the Preface to "Prākṛtarūpāvatāra") that "Śāstrasāhityasindhu" is perhaps an Alaṁkāra work is therefore, right, but the name is "Alaṁkārasarvasva" and not "Śāstrasāhityasindhu". And the two anonymous quotations to which Prof. Hultzsch on the same page has drawn our attention, can be explained, as remarked by him, on the supposition that the author of the Siddhāntakaumudī, Nagoji Bhaṭṭa and Siṁharāja have borrowed them from an older grammatical work.

2 In reality Mallinātha lived in the 15th century; see Prākṛtarūpāvatāra, p. IV, note 4, and Meghadūta ed. Hultzsch, p. XI, note 2.

B. TRIVIKRAMA AND HEMACANDRA.

In the introductory verse "*prākṛtarūpāṇi yathā...*" (see page 20 (192)) Trivikrama himself says that he closely agrees with Hemacandra and other grammarians who have preceded him in the explanation of the Prakrit forms. On a comparison of the grammars of both these authors, the following points of agreement and difference clearly come forward.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

1. Trivikrama received most of the sūtras of Hemancandra with insignificant changes, necessary on account of his terminology.

2. Trivikrama rarely changed the order of the sūtras on metrical grounds.

3. Trivikrama copied almost all the examples and quotations from Hemacandra (perhaps after comparing with original sources) (see Appendix A and pp. 39-42 (212-214)).

4. Trivikrama even received the wording of the commentary with occasional explanatory and supplementary remarks (see Appendx A).

(P. 33) CHIEF POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

1. Trivikrama gave his sūtras a metrical form and in this attempt he had to undertake occasional changes in the order of the sūtras : sometimes even wholly unconnected sūtras are here and there shoved in on metrical considerations (see pp. 35-39 (208-212).

2. Trivikrama occasionally explained his sūtras more clearly and completely than Hemacandra (see Appendix A).

3. Trivikrama gave more numerous examples from the dramas and from the Prakrit literature than Hemacandra and also furnished their Sanskrit translation which gives them greater worth while Hemacandra had not done this (see Appendix A and pp. 39-42 (212-214).

4. Trivikrama invented a new terminology of abbreviations after the manner of Pāṇini and had also made use of that of Pāṇini which gives his sūtras a more concise form while

Hemacandra is at a disadvantage as he only employs his own terminology invented by him for his Sanskrit Grammar, "*Siddhahemacandra*" (see Appendix B).

C. SUMMARY OF TRIVIKRAMA'S GRAMMAR

(a) General Principles of Arrangement

The general method of Trivikrama's treatment is first to give rules, then counter-rules and lastly mixed peculiar cases. This system he has followed as carefully as possible except when the metre demanded a slight change.

In the First Part of the First Chapter, e. g. the sūtra संधिस्त्वपदे 1 1.19 gives a general rule for the euphonic change that every Sanskrit-saṁdhi takes place optionally in the Prakrit except in the root of the word. Then follow the rules न यण् 1.1.20 ; एङः 1. 1. 21 ; शेषेऽध्यचः 1.1.22 ; तिङः 1.1.23 (counter rules), which limit the operation of the principal rule.

Again the next sūtra लोपः 1.1.24 gives a principal rule that if a vowel follows the preceding vowel is dropped, while the four following sūtras (अन्त्यहलोऽअदुदि 1.1.25 ; निर्दूरि वा 1.1.26 ; अन्तरि च नाचि 1.1.27 ; शिश्लुङ् नपुनरि तु 1.1.28) give counter-rules which settle when the preceding vowel is not dropped.

The next sūtra आविद्युति स्त्रियामाल् 1.1.29 is a change from the preceding section about the loss of the final consonants (P. 34) to a new section in which the feminines substitute आ for their final consonant—with the exception of the word विद्युत् (which changes to बिज्ज् or बिज्जुला).

Then the six following sūtras रोरा 1.1.30 ; हः क्षुत्कक्षुभि 1.1.31 : धनुषि वा 1.1.32 ; सशाशिषि 1.1.33 ; स आयुरप्सरसोः 1.1.34 ; दिक्प्रावृषि 1.1.35 ; which preserve the ending आ except in the word प्रावृष् which connects itself with the next sūtra, show the further modifications of the principal rule आविद्युति स्त्रियामाल् 1.1.29. The next sūtra शरदामत् 1.1.36 relates to a special group of words which require a change of their final consonants to अ instead of to आ, while the following sūtra, which concludes this section (तु सक्खिणभवन्त-जम्मणमहन्ताः 1.1.37) enumerates special cases which can be brought under no rule.

An example where a sūtra not at all connected with the preceding or following is interpolated for filling up the metre is the First Sūtra of the Second Part of the First Chapter निष्प्रती ओत्परी माल्यस्थोर्वा 1.2.1. This sūtra which begins a "Pāda" signifies that ओ and परि can be optionally put in for निस् and प्रति when the word माल्य and the root स्था follow. The following sūtra begins a wholly new section; it treats of the changes of the initial vowels (see page 35 (below)).

(b) Special distribution into chapters, parts aud sections.

Trivikrama divided his Grammar into three chapters, perhaps intentionally to make it suggestive of his name Trivikrama... three paces— and every chapter into four parts. Every part has further subdivisions into sections which are, however, indicated in none of the manuscripts of Trivikrama's Grammar.

Chapter I, Part 1

Sūtras 1–53

1–4 General introductory rules
5–16 Explanation of the grammatical terms.
17 Principal rule.
18 General rule.
19–23 Saṁdhi rules.
24–28 Loss of final consonants.
29–36 Rules about final consonants.
37 Irregular forms
38, 39 Final consonants which change to "m".
40–48 Rules about nasals.
49–53 Irregular words.

(P. 35) Chapter I, Part 2

Sūtras 1–109

1 "nis" and "prati" are changed="o" and "pari" (interpolated sūtra)
Rules about vowels.
2 General rule.
3–6 Loss of initial vowels.
7 Initial vowel="ta" (interpolated sūtra).
8–10 Initial vowel=a etc.
11–12 „ „ =i
13–14 Exceptions.
15 Initial vowel=i
16–20 „ „ =u
21–22 „ „ =ū
23–26 „ „ =e
27–32 „ „ =o
33 ā=I
34–40 Exceptions.
41–42 i=e
43–46 i=a
47–48 i=u
49 i=u, o (incomplete sūtra)
50 I=a, ā
51, 52 I=i
53 I=u
54, 55 I=ū
56 I=e
57, 58 u=a
59 u=i
60 u=I

61–63 u=ŭ
64, 65 u=o
66, 67 ū=a
68 ū=ĭ
69, 70 ū=u
71 ū=i, e
72 ū=o
73 ṛ=a
74 ṛ=ā
75–77 ṛ=i
78–81 ṛ=u
82–84 ṛ=i, u
85 ṛ=u, ū, o
86 ṛ=i, e, o
87–91 ṛ=ḍhi, ri (exceptions)
92 lṛ=ili
93, 94 e, ai=i
95 o=a
96, 97 au=u
98 au=aŭ, āi
99 e=ū
100 o=ū
101 ai, au=e, o
102, 103 ai=aĭ
104 au=āva
105 au=ā
106 au=aŭ
107 ai=aa
108 ai=ĭ
109 Exceptions

Chapter I, Part 3

Sūtras 1–105

Continuation of the rules about vowels.

1–3 Vowels=e
4, 5 ,, =o
6 ,, =uma
7 General rule.

Rules about consonants

8–11 Loss of consonants.
(P. 36) 12 Gutturals=kh
13 Exceptions.
14, 15 Gutturals=g
16–21 Exceptions.
22 Palatals=s, ll
23 ,, =jh
24–26 Cerebrals=l
27 ,, =ḍh
28, 29 ṭh=ḍh
30 ḍ=l (exception)
31 ṭ=d (exception)
32–35 Dentals=ḍ (change of the order of the sūtras)
36 Dentals=c, ch (change of the order of the sūtras)
37 Dentals=ṭ (change of the order of the sūtras)
38, 39 Dentals=h (change of the order of the sūtras)
40, 41 Dentals=l
42, 43 ,, =r
44 ,, =v
45 ,, =l
46 ,, =ḍ
47–48 ,, =ḍh
49–51 ,, =ṇ
52–54 n=ṇ
55 p=v
56 p=ph
57–67 Labials=m etc.
68–74 y=j etc.
75 Exceptions.
76–80 r=ḍ, l etc.
81–83 l=ṇ etc.
84, 85 v, b=m etc.
86 h=gh
87–91 ś, ṣ, s=s etc.
92–95 Loss of medial consonants
96–104 Exceptions.
105 Irregular words.

Chapter I, Part 4

Sūtras 1–121

Rules about conjunct consonants

1 General rule.
2, 3 Conj. cons. = g
4 „ „ = k (change of the order)
5–10 Conjunct cons. = kh
11–15 „ „ = th, ṭh (change of the order).
16–18 Conjunct cons. = c
19–23 „ „ = ch
24, 25 „ „ = j
26–29 „ „ = jh
30, 31 „ „ = ṭ
32 „ „ = nt, ndh (change of the order)
33 Conjunct cons. = ḍ
34, 35 „ „ = ḍh
36, 37 „ „ = ṇ
38–40 „ „ = th
41–43 „ „ = p
44–46 „ „ = ph
47, 48 „ „ = m
49 „ „ = mb
50, 51 „ „ = bh
52 „ „ = o
53 „ „ = mbh
54, 55 „ „ = l
56–58 Exceptions (change of the order)
59, 60 Conjunct cons. = r (change of the order)
(P. 37) 61–64 Conjunct. cons. = h
65 Exceptions
66 Conjunct cons. = lh
67, 68 „ „ = mh
69, 70 „ „ = ṇh
71–73 Exceptions
74 Conjunct cons. = s
75–84 Loss
85, 86 Doubling of consonants.
87, 88 Exceptions (change of the order)
89–94 Doubling of consonants.

Epenthesis

95–97 a
98–104 i
105 i, u
106–109 u
110 ɪ
111–119 Metathesis
120 Exceptions.
121 Irregular words.

Chapter II, Part 1

Sūtras 1–77

1 matup
2, 3 vatup
4 pa = ika
5 kha = ika
6 cha = naa
7 tral = hi, ttha, ha
8–10 idamartha
11 vat = rva
12 taila = tella (interpolated sūtra)
13 tva
14 tas
15 dā
16 kṛtvas

17 bhava
18-26 svārthika
27 tva
28 śīlādyartha
29 ktvā
30 Irregular forms
31-76 Avyaya
77 Irregular words.

Chapter II, Part 2

Sūtras 1-92

1-29 General rules. Section about masculines ending in a vowel.
30, 31 Neuters ending in vowels
32-41 Feminines.
42-46 Vocative.
47-52 Words with "ṛ" at the end
53-61 Words ending in consonants: "rājan" and "ātman."
63-92 Pronouns.
75 (change of the order)

(P. 38) Chapter II, Part 3

Sūtras 1-42

Pronouns
1—14 "yuṣmad."
15-27 "asmad"
28-33 Numerals.
34 General rule.
35-42 Mixed words.

Chapter II, Part 4

Sūtras 1-157

Conjugation
1—7 Present. General rules.
8-10 Root "as"
11-21 Causative.
22-23 Imperfect.
24 Exception; "as"
25-33 Future
34-38 Optative
39, 40 Mixed forms.
41-43 Participle.
44-63 Peculiar verbal forms.
64-71 General rules.
64-67 Verbs ending in vowel.
68 "ruṣ"-class of verbs.
69-71 General rules.
72 Exceptions.
73, 74 General rules.
75-91 Special rules.
92-119 Causative.
120-123 "kṛ"-class of verbs.
124-129 Peculiar verbs.
130 Root "jñā" (change of the order)
131-157 Peculiar verbal forms.

Chapter III, Part 1

Sūtras 1–133

1–131	Peculiar verbal forms.
132	Irregular words.
133	General rule.

Chapter III, Part 2

Sūtras 1–67

	Śaurasenī
1–6	General rules.
7, 8	Inversion of syllables.
9	Epenthesis.
10, 11	"matup" etc.
12–19	Avyaya.
20	Declension.
21, 22	Vocative.
23	n=m
24	Future.
(P. 39)	25 Exception.
26	General rule.

	Māgadhī
27	General rule.
28–30	Declension.
31	Pronouns.
32–42	Peculiar verbal forms.
	Paiśācī
43, 44	General rules,
45–61	Special rules.
62	General rule.
63	Exceptions.
	Cūlikā-Paiśācī.
64–67	Special rules.

Chapter III, Part 3

Sūtras 1–58

	Apabhraṁśa
1–6	General rules.
7	Exceptions.
8–26	"matup" etc.
27–29	Exceptions.

30	General rule.
31–33	Feminines.
34–51	Avyaya.
52–55	Pronouns.
56–58	Irregular words.

Chapter III, Part 4

Sūtras 1–72

	Apabhraṁśa
1–25	Declension.
26–50	Pronouns.
51–52	Conjugation

63	Irregular words.
64–71	General rules.
	Sections about Deśī-words
72	Deśī-words.

CHAPTER IV

QUOTATIONS IN TRIVIKRAMA'S GRAMMAR

Note. The Apabhraṁśa verses are not repeated here because they have been critically edited by Prof. Pischel (" Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa ", Berlin 1902).

Mahārāṣṭrī

Chap. I, Part 1

क्वचित्प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यपेव । (sūtra 17) निअंबासिल-क्खलिअवीइमालस्स । (18) णहप्पहावलिअरुणो । (20) संझावहुअवऊढो । (20) गूढोअरतामरसाणुसारिणी । (20) गगणव्विअ गंधउडिं कुर्णति (22) (P. 40) जोण्हाऊरिदकोसो । (22) देवंणाअसुवंतं । (42) णच्छाविआ तेणाम्हाणमच्छी : (51).

Chap. I, Part 2

इअ विंझगुहाणिलआए । (6) (गउडवहो, 338) अंतोवीसंभणिवेसिआण । (23) बाहसलिलप्पवहेण ओल्लेइ । (27) इअ विअसिअकुसुअसरो । (45) आणीदा भुवणब्भुदेक्कजणाणी । (51) जिण्णे भोअणमत्ते । (53) किलित्तकुसुमोवहारेसु । (92),

Chap. I, Part 3

सुद्धविअइलपसूणपुंजा । (1) (कर्पूरमञ्जरी I, 19) बंधुअकुज्जपमूणं । (12) णमिमो हरकिराअं । (13) पुण्णामाइ वसंते । (16) महण्णवसमाणहिया । (95) जाला दे सहिअएहिं घेप्पन्ति । (95) (काव्यमाला, अलंकारसर्वस्व p. 23).

Chap. I, Part 4

सकलपिच्छीविज्जं । (65) मलअसिहरक्खंडो । (91).

Chap. II, Part 1

चुंबिज्जइ सहस्सहुत्तं । उपगूहिज्जइ सहस्सहुत्तं । (16) जं सुउलणं लोअणाणं, अणुबंधं तं चिअ कामिणीणं (34) मखलभिअओ तस्स इर पिअवअस्सो । (39) एवं किल तेण सिविणए भविअं । (39) अम्हो देवस्स गई । (40) अम्मो कह परिणिज्जइ । (40) अम्बो उक्कंठकारआ । (41) अम्बो दलइ हिअअं । (41) अम्बो अइ अम्माणं जम्मस्स फलं । (41) अम्बो णासेंति धिई फलअं वड्ढेंति देंति रणरणअं । (41) अम्बो तह तेण कआ । अह संजअ कस्स साणभोमि । (41) अम्बो दुक्खअरआर । (41) अम्म वा मरिति हिअअं, कहवि नवा होंति जुवईणं । (41) अम्बो किंपि रहस्सं सुणंति धुत्ता चणब्भिआ । (41) अम्बो गइआम्हि तुमे ण व रंजइ साण जूरिहइ । (41) अइ दिअर किं ण पेच्छासि । (44) नत्थि वणे जण देइ विहिपरिणामो । (44) ऊ केण विणा णाअं, ऊ किं मए भणिअं । (52) अइ सुप्पइ पंसुलमिणि पुणरुत्तं । तं विसुअं छिण्णसिरं तं खु सिरिए रभास्सि । (54) को णु सहस्ससिरो । (54) साहुणवणसब्भिआ पइ तुह हसइ । (54) तरिउण भुणवरउमं, एअ खु तुभ भसइ । (54) डल्लावरीइ वि तुभं बब्बेति मआच्चिअं किणेदं । (57) माभि सरिसक्खराणि । (58) दे पसीअ

दाव सुंदर । (59) णाइं करेमि रोसं । (61) भमररुअं जेण कमलवण, भमरभासिणमअं तेण कमलवणं । (66) ओ विरएमि णहअले । (67) विसअं विसअं ति अप्पणो कमलसरो । (70) सअं चिअ सुणीसि करणिज्जं । (70).

(P. 41) Chap. II, Part 2

जाइविसुद्धेण पहु । (42) हे कासवा, हे गोअमा, रे रे पिप्पलाआ, रे रे णिग्घणिआ। (42) अह णे हसइ हिअएण मरुअतणओ । (91)

Chap. II, Part 3

सीमंधरस्स वंदे । (38) तस्सा मुहस्स सरिमो । (38) इअराण जाण लहु अक्खराइ णाअंति मिलुसहिआण । (38) वणसिरिपट्टीए कबरीव । (38) अंतेउरे रमिउं आअओ । (40) विज्जुज्जोअं म्हरइ रइं । (41).

Chap. II, Part 4

वहु वण्णिउं ण सक्कं । (3) सूसइरे ताण तारिसो कंठो । (4) केलिविसरो विअम्भइ । (138) अत्ता एत्थ णिमज्जइ (145).

Chap. III, Part 1

भवइ परिहीणविभवो । (1) अंगे वि ण बहुप्पइ । (3) महमहइ मालईगंधो । (11).

Chap. III, Part 2

Śaurasenī

ततो पूरितदपदिण्णेण मरुदिणा मंतिदो । (1) कज्जपरवसो । (8) अणंतरकरणीअं दाणिं आणवेदु अय्यो । (12) अन्नं दाणिं होहि (?)। (12) ता जाव पविसामि । (13) ता आलि एदिणा माणेण । (13) णं अफलोदयं । (14) णं अय्यामिस्सेहिं पढमं एव्व आणत्तं । (14) णं हंजे अग्गदोवत्ति । (14) अम्हए एदाए उम्मिलाए सुपरिघरितो भव । (15) ही ही संपन्ना मणोरथा पिअवअस्सस्स । (16) हीमाणहे परिसांता अम्हे णदेण्णिअ विहिणो दुव्विलसिदेण । (17) हीमाणहे जीवंतवत्सा मे जणणी । (17) हंजे चउरिए । (19) दूरादु दूरादो एव्व । (20) हो राअ, हो विअअवम्म । भअवं कुसुमाउह । (22) सअललोअंतरआरि भअवं हुदवह । (22) किं एदं भवं हिअएण चिंतेदि । (23) पल्लविनो भअवं उदासणो । (23).

Māgadhī

पविशदु आउत्ते शामिप्पशाआअ । (27) (Śak. VI Act, Prelude) अले किं एशे कलकले । (27) मालेध मुंचेध व जं दाव शे आअमे (Śak.) । (27) भाव शे आगमे । (27) ओशलध अय्या ओशलध । (27) अय्य एशे खु कुमाले मलअकेदु । (27) किं खु शोहणे बम्हणोत्ति कलिअ रण्णा पडिग्गहे दिण्णे (Śak.) । (27) हीमाणहे पालिशंता हगे एदेण णं अ विहिणो दुव्विलसिदेण । (विक्रान्तभीमे) । (27) अहं पि हा मलाअणादो अहवावेति । (27) हगे ण ईदिशकम्मकाली (Śak.) । (27) (P. 42) मगदन्त शोणिदाह कुम्भे । (27) भीमशेणश्श पश्चदो आहिण्डआदि, हिडिंबाए कुडुंबक अशोकेण उपशमादि । (27) हगे शक्कावदालतिस्तवाशी धीवले (Śak.) । (28) अय्य किल विय्याहले आअदे । (39).

Paiśācī

किंवि किंवि हितपके अत्थं चिंतयमानी । (52) तं तत्थून चिंतितं रञ्ञा का एसा हुएय्य । (57) पुढमदंसने सव्वमेव संमानं किरते । (59) अथसरीरो भगवं मकरद्धजो एत्थ परिब्भमन्तो हुएय्य । (62) एवंविधाए भगवतीए कथ तापसवेसगहनं कतं । (62) अंतद्धपुरुव्वम्महासनं दट्ठून भगवपं यदि मं खरीपच्छसेअं चंदावलोके ताव च तीये जरातेध्येव तिट्ठो सो गच्छमानो राजा (?) । (62).

Cūlikā-Paiśācī

पनमत पनयपकुप्पितगोलीचलनग्गलग्गपतिबिंबं ।
. . . . तस्सुरहतप्पनेसु च एक्रान्तस्तनुसल्लुई ॥ (64)

APPENDIX A

EXTRACTS FROM TRIVIKRAMA'S GRAMMAR

(हेम° 8.1.5) संधिस्त्वपदे 1.1.19.

संस्कृतोक्तः सर्वः संधिः प्राकृते भवति तु अपदे । एकपदे न भवति । तुशब्दो विकल्पार्थः ॥ व्यासऋषिः, वासेसी, वासइसी । कवीश्वरः, कईसरो, कइईसरो । ॥ अपद इति किम् । मुद्धाइ, मुद्धाए, मुग्धायाः । ॥ बहुलाधिकारात्क्वचिदेकपदेऽपि च । काही, काहिइ, करिष्यति । ॥

(हेम° 8.1.6) न यण् 1.1.20.

संधिरित्यनुवर्तते । इको यणाचि इति यः संस्कृते यणादेशः संधिः स प्राकृते न भवति । इवर्णस्य यत्वम्, उवर्णस्य वत्वं च न भवतीत्यर्थः । यण् इति यवरलानां परिग्रहेऽपि, प्राकृते ऋलृवर्णयोः प्रयोगाभावाद् यत्ववत्वयोरेवायं निषेधः ॥ नखप्रभावल्यरुणः, णहप्पहावलिअरुणो । संज्ञावध्ववगूढः, संज्ञावहुअवऊढो ॥ यण् इति किम् । गूढोदरतामरसानुसारिणी, गूढोदरतामरसाणुसारिणी ॥

(हेम° 8.1.8) शेषेऽच्यचः 1.1.22.

युक्तस्य हलो लोपे योऽवशिष्येतऽच् स शेषः । तस्मिन्नचि परे अचः संधिर्न भवति ॥ गगणव्विअ गंधउडिं कुर्णति, गगन एव गन्धकुटीं कुर्वन्ति । ॥ बहुलाधिकारात्क्वचिद्विकल्पः । कुम्भकारः, कुंभारो, कुंभआरो । ॥ क्वचि- (P. 43) त्संधिरेव । शातवाहनः, सालाहणो ॥ "सालवाहणो, चक्कवाओ" इत्येतौ प्रायोग्रहणाद् वस्य लोपाभावे भवतः । लोपे तु संधिरेव ॥

(हेम° 8.1.254) हरिद्रादौ 1.3.78.

हरिद्रादिषु रस्य लत्वं भवति । पृथग्योगान्नित्यम् । (पूर्वस्मिन् सूत्रे लत्वविकल्पविधानात्) ॥ हलद्दी, हरिद्रा । इंगालो, अङ्गारः । चलणो, चरणः । चिलाओ,

किरातः ॥ · · · · बहुलाधिकारादङ्गारस्य कृतेत्त्व[1]स्यैव, अन्यत्र अंगारो ॥ चरणस्य पादा[2]र्थवृत्तेरेव, अन्यत्र चरणपहरणं ॥ किरातस्य चका[3]रसंनियोग एव, अन्यच "णमिमो हरकिराअं" ॥

(हेम° 8.2.79) लवरामधश्च 1.4.78.

लवराम् अधोवर्तमानानां संयुक्तसंबन्धिनां चकारादुपरिस्थितानां च लुग्भवति ॥ अधः (ल) श्लक्ष्णम्, सण्हं । विक्लवः, विक्कवो ॥ (व) पक्वम्, पक्कं । विध्वस्तम्, विद्धत्थं ॥ र । चक्रम्, चक्कं । ग्रहः, गहो । रात्रिः, राती ॥ उपरि[4] । (ल) उल्का, उक्का । वल्कलम्, वक्कलं ॥ व । शब्दः, सद्दो । अब्दः, अद्दो । लुब्धकः, लुद्धओ ॥ र । अर्कः, अक्को । तर्कः, तक्को ॥

(हेम° 8.2.78) मनयाम् 1.4.79.

संयुक्तस्याधोवर्तमानानां मनयां लुग्भवति ॥ म । युग्मं, जुग्गं । रश्मिः, रस्सी । स्मरः, सरो ॥ न । नग्नः, नग्गो । लग्नः, लग्गो । मग्नः, मग्गो ॥ य । श्यामा, सामा । कुड्यम्, कोड्डं ॥ अत्र द्वितीयकलमषकार्यमाल्यादिषु एतत्सूत्रत्रय[5]विधिप्राप्तौ यथादर्शनं लोपः ॥ द्वितीयः, विईओ । द्विगुणः, विउणो । द्वादश, बारह । द्वाविंशतिः, बावीसा । द्वात्रिंशत्, बत्तीसा ॥ कलमषम्, कम्मसं । शुल्बम्, सुव्वं ॥ क्वचित्त्वधः ॥ द्वीपः, दीवो । द्विजातिः, दुवाइ । काव्यम्, कव्वं । दिव्यम्, दिव्वम् । माल्यम्, मल्लं । काम्यम्, कम्मं । कुल्या, कुल्ला ॥ (P. 44) क्वचित्पर्यायेण । उद्विग्नः, उव्विग्गो, उव्विण्णो ॥ रेफस्य तु सर्वत्रैव । सर्वम्, सव्वं । चक्रम्, चक्कं । वक्रम् वंकं ॥ सर्वत्र लवरामचन्द्रे इति केचित् । तदयुक्तम् । चंद्रो चंदो इति स्वयमेवोदाहृतत्वात् ॥ तथाविधप्रयोगदर्शनाच्चोत्तरसूत्रोक्तविकल्प एवाभ्युपगन्तव्यः ॥[6]

1 "अङ्गार" शब्दे अस्य इत्त्वे कृते रस्य लत्वं भवतीत्यर्थः । यथा इंगालो । अन्यत्र रस्य लत्वं न भवति । यथा अंगारो ॥

2 पादार्थवृत्तेरित्यत्र छन्दःपादवाचके चरणशब्दे रस्य लत्वं न त्वन्यत्र ॥

3 किरातशब्दे कस्य चत्वे कृत एव रस्य लत्वं । यथा किरातः, चिलाओ । अत्र चलयोः संनियोगः सांनिध्यमत एव रस्य लत्वम् ॥ अन्यत्र "णमिमो हरकिराअं" इत्यत्र चस्य सांनिध्याभावे रस्य लत्वं न स्यात् । हरकिराअं किरातरूपधारिणं हरमित्यर्थः ॥

4 अस्मिन् सूत्रे अन्यत्र च "उपरिपदं पूर्ववर्तित्वव्यञ्जकम् "अधः" पदं पश्चाद्भावित्वबोधकमित्यनुसंधेयम् । अत एव श्लक्ष्णमित्यत्र "श्ल" इत्यक्षरे शस्य उपरित्वं लस्याधस्त्वम् ॥

5 कगटडतदपशकऽपशोरुपर्यद्रे 1.4.77; लवरामधश्च 1.4.78; मनयाम् 1.4.79.; इति त्रीणि सूत्राणि ॥

6 हेमचन्द्रकृते व्याकरणेऽष्टमाध्यायस्य द्वितीये पादे 79 तमं तथा 80 तमं च सूत्रमनेन सूत्रेण सह पर्यालोचनीयम् । "सर्वत्र लवरामचन्द्रे" इति त्रिविक्रमसंमतो हेमचन्द्रसूत्रपाठः । यतो "द्रे रो न वा" इत्यागामिसूत्रे हेमचन्द्रेण "चंद्रो, चंदो" इत्युदाहृतत्वाद्रेफलोपस्य च तत्रैव विकल्पविधानात् । अस्मिन् सूत्रे हेमचन्द्रत्रिविक्रमयोर्व्याख्यानविरोध आपाततः प्रतीयते । वस्तुतस्तु हेमचन्द्रसंमतः चन्द्रशब्दः (चंद्र इति पाठान्तरम्) प्रसिद्धचन्द्रशब्दादन्य एव । संस्कृतसमोऽयं प्राकृतशब्द इत्युक्तत्वात् ॥

(हेम°8.2.89,92,93) शेषादेशस्याद्रोऽचोऽखोः 1.4.86.

द्वित्वमिति वर्तते । संयुक्तयोरेकतरस्य लोपे योऽवशिष्यते स शेषः । तस्य संयुक्तादेशस्य च, अद्रः हकाररेफवर्जितस्य, अचः स्वरात् परस्य, अखोः अनादौ वर्तमानस्य द्वित्वं लिङ्गवति ॥ शेषः । समस्तः, समत्तो । निस्पृहः, नि(णि)प्पिहो । भुक्तम, भुत्तं । दुग्धम, दुद्धं । षट्पदः, छप्पओ । खड्गः, खग्गो । उत्पलम, उप्पलं । मुद्गरः, मुग्गरो । प्राप्तः, पत्तो । दुःखम, दुक्खं । अन्तःपातः, अंतप्पाओ । निश्चलः, णिच्चलो । दुष्करम, दुक्करं । ... आदेशः । रक्तः, रग्गो । शक्तः, सक्को । अमात्यः, अमच्चो । आत्मा, अप्पा । आर्या, अज्जा । ... ॥ अद्र इति किम् । (हकारवर्जितस्य) विह्वलः विहलो । (रेफवर्जितस्य ।) दुःखम् (दुर् + खं), दुहं । बाष्पः, बाहो । धात्री, धारी, । ... ॥ अच इति किम् । कांस्यम, कंसं । वयस्यः, वयंसो । संध्या, संझा । भिन्दिपालः, भिंडिवालो ॥ अखोरिति किम । स्खलितः, खलिओ । स्थूलः, थोरो । स्तम्भः, खंबो ॥

(हेम° 8.1.142) दृशयक्सक्किनि 1.2.90.

अ, क्स, क्किन् इत्येतदन्ते दृशिधातौ ऋतो रित्वं भवति ॥ अ । सदृशः, सरिसो ॥ क्स । सदृक्षः, सरिच्छो ॥ क्किन् । सदृक् सरी । सरिवण्णो, सरिरूवो, सदृग्वर्णः, सदृग्रूपः । एवम् । आरिसो, भवारिसो जारिसो, केरिसो, एरिसो, अण्णारिसो, अम्हारिसो, तुम्हारिसो । एतादृशः ... ॥ अक्सयोः साहचर्यात् त्यदाद्यन्यादिविहितः क्किन् इह गृह्यते ॥ (क्सक्किनोरसाहचर्यात् त्यदादिषु इति विहितः कञ् इह गृह्यते[1] ॥

(p. 45) (हेम° 8.1.167) त्वत्सरोरुहमनोहरप्रकोष्ठातोद्यान्योन्ये वश्च क्तोः 1.2.95.

एष्वचः अत्त्वं भवति। तत्संनियोगेन यथासंभवं ककारतकारयोश्च वकारादेशः ॥ सररुहं, सरोरुहं । मणहरं, मणोहरं । पवट्ठो, पओट्ठो, प्रकोष्ठः । आवज्जं, आओज्जं, आतोद्यम् । अण्णण्णं, अण्णोण्णं । सिरवेअणा, सिरोवेअणा इत्येतौ शिरोवेदनायास्सा[2]ध्यमानसिद्धावस्थयोरेव भवतः ॥

(हेम° 8.1.209) र्णो दिना रुदिते 1.3.49.

रुदिते तवर्गस्य " दि " इत्यवयवेन सह णत्वं भवति । रित्त्वाद्वित्वम् ॥ रुण्णं ॥ अत्र केचिद् ऋत्वादिषु द इत्यारब्धवन्तः (तस्य द इति भावः)। तच्छौरसेनी-

1 " दृशः क्विप्टक्सकः " 8.1.142 इति हेमचन्द्रसूत्रपाठः । सिद्धहेमचन्द्रनाम्नि व्याकरणे पञ्चमाध्याये प्रथमपादे 148 तमे तथा 152 तमे सूत्रे हेमचन्द्रेण त्यदाद्यन्यादिसूत्रं दृशिधातोष्टक्सकक्विप् संबन्धीनि रूपाणि व्याख्यातानि । तथा (P. 45) पाणिनीये व्याकरणे तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादे 60 तमे सूत्रे सवार्तिके क्सक्किनोः साहचर्यवान् कञ् निरूपितः । अत्र त्रिविक्रमेण पाणिनीया परिभाषावलम्बिता वा हेमचन्द्रकृतेति निर्णेतुं न शक्यते । अप्पयदीक्षितेन प्राकृतमणिदीपे पाणिनीयपरिभाषानुसारेण त्रिविक्रमसूत्रपाठः संशोधितः (" गन्धप्रदर्शनी " कोरेण मुद्रिते प्राकृतमणिदीपे 20 तमं पत्रमनुसंधेयम्) ॥

2 साध्यमानावस्था । शिरः + वेदना = सिर + वेअणा = सिरवेअणा । सिद्धावस्था । शिरः + वेदना = शिरोवेदना = सिरोवेअणा ॥

मागधीविषय एव दृश्यत इति नोच्यते ॥ प्राकृते तु । ऋतुः उऊ । रजतम्, रअअं । एतद्, एअं । गतः, गओ । आगतः, आगओ । सांप्रतम्, संपअं । यतः, जओ । ततः तओ । कृतम्, कअं । हृतम्, हअं । हताशः, हआसो । श्रुतः, सुओ । आकृतिः, आकिई । निर्वृतः, णिव्वुओ । तातः, ताओ । कतरः, कअरो । द्वितीयः, दुइओ इत्यादयः प्रयोगा भवन्ति ॥ क्वचित्संभवेऽपि तद्व्यत्ययश्च (3.4.70) इत्येतेन सिद्धम् ।[1]

(P. 46) APPENDIX B

TECHNICAL TERMS COINED AND USED BY TRIVIKRAMA

(a) Technical terms coined by Trivikrama

1 ha	5 ga	9 śit
2 di	6 phu	10 ṅit
8 śu	7 stu	11 rit
4 khu	8 lit	

(b) Technical terms accepted by Trivikrama

1 sa[2]	11 mayaṭ	21 tum
2 nap[2]	12 matup	22 nāma
3 tu	13 vatup	23 kta
4 yaṇ	14 ṇa	24 śatṛ
5 sup	15 vat	25 śānac
6 tiṅ	16 tas	26 luk
7 ak	17 kṛtvas	27 bhaviṣyat
8 sak	18 ka (svārthika)	28 ghañ
9 kvip (or kvin)	19 tva	29 kha
10 ku, cu, ṭu, tu, pu	20 ktvā	

1 हेमचन्द्रकृते व्याकरणेऽष्टमाध्याये प्रथमपादे "रुदिते दिना णः" इति 209 तमं सूत्रम् । तत्त्रिविक्रमेण समग्रमनुलिखितम् । केवलं द्विरुक्तणस्य स्थाने स्वपरिभाषानुसारेण रेफाविशिष्टो णः सूत्रे ग्रथितः । इदं नावदत्र वक्तव्यम् । त्रिविक्रमेण "क्वचिद् भावेऽपि" इत्यत्र क्वचित्संभवेऽपीत्युक्त्वा हेमचन्द्रोक्तं संदिग्धं वाक्यं विशदीकृतम् । क्वचित् तस्य दत्वभावेऽपि दत्वसंभवेऽपि तद्व्यत्ययश्चेति सूत्रेण तद्दत्वं सिध्येतेत्यर्थः

2 These terms were already used by other grammarians (cf. Preface to Prākṛtarūpāvatāra ed. Hultzsch, London 1909, p. XI, note 2 and p. XII, note 1).

THE USE OF THE CASES IN VEDIC PROSE

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M. A.

(*Continued*)

aś : pātreṣu aśanaṃ aśyate (ŚB. 2.52.23). *sa yathā vijayasya kāmāya viśā samāne pātre 'śnīyāt*, as one might, for the sake of victory, eat from the same vessel with the people (ŚB. 4.3.3.15).

pā : ye anneṣu vividhyanti pātreṣu pibato janān, they that assault men in their food, and in their cups as they drink (TS. 4.5.11). If *pibataḥ* be not construed with *pātreṣu*, this example would not come under this class.

Instruct in :

śās (*anu*) : *yad vai tvāham etayor anuśiṣyām*, if I were to instruct thee in (the use of) them (ŚB. 11.4.3.19). Cf. *vidyāsu śikṣate ; dhanuṣi śikṣate*. Cf. Pali : *bodhisatto taṃ rājānaṃ atthe ca dhamme ca anusāsati*, B. instructed him in polity and in religion (J. 1.184).

Obtain protection under :

nāth : devā agnāv anāthan, the gods found a protector in Agni (TS. 2.4.1). *so'gnau caiva some cānāthata*, he found protection in A. and S. (Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 10.2 ; also cf. 16.6 ; 11. 1, 3, 4 ; 13. 2 4 ; 27. 4). Cf. *eṣo 'nukampyo mayi nāthavān iti* (Bhp. 10.14.10).

Agree in :

[It is to be noted that all the verbs under this class are used with the upasarga *sam* (See instrumental)].

jñā : tasmin devā na samajānata, the god did not agree as to this (AB. 17.1.4). *sam asmin svāḥ śreṣṭhatāyāṃ jānate*, his pre-eminence his own people accord (AB. 19.3.9).

rādh : *tasyāṃ na samarādhayan*, they could not agree about it (TS. 2.19). *tasmin na samarādhayan* (PB. 9.1.25)

pad (causative) : *devā vai somasya rājñaḥ ... agrapeye na samapādayan*, the gods could not agree in the drinking first of Soma, the king (AB. 9.1.1). *tau ha madhyame sampādayāṃ cakratuḥ*, they made an agreement ragarding the middle one (AB. 33.3.7)

vad : gṛhapater evāraṇyoḥ saṃvadante, they commune with each other over the Gṛhapati's churning-sticks (ŚB. 4.6.8.13).

vac (causative) : *atha yad vede patnīṃ vācayati*, in that he causes the wife to speak on the grass-bundle (KB. 3. 9).

Abide by :

sthā : *tasmiṃs tiṣṭhāmahe vayam*, that we accept (AB. 33.6.3). *indre sarve devās tasthānāḥ*, all the gods (were) abiding in Indra (ŚB. 1.6.32.2). *triṃśattame vyūhe paṅktiṣu atiṣṭhanta*, at the thirtieth arrangement they came to an end in the Paṅktis (ŚB. 10.4.2.25).

This idiom had good currency in the classical language : e. g., *tathāpi śastravyavahāraniṣṭhure vipakṣabhāve ciram asya tasthuṣaḥ* | *stutoṣa vīryātiśayena vṛtrahā* (Raghu. 3.62 abc). *atiṣṭhad ekonaśatakratutve* | *śakrābhyasūyā-vinivṛttaye yaḥ* (Raghu 6. 74 cd). *na me śāsane tiṣṭhasi* (Śak. VI). *jihreṣyatiṣṭhan yadi tātavākye* (Bhaṭṭi 3. 53 c). *tvayi nas tiṣṭhate prītis tubhyaṃ tiṣṭhāmahe* | *vayam uttiṣṭhamānam mitrārthe kas tvāṃ na bahumanyate* ॥ (Bhaṭṭi 8. 12).

Catch by, tough at :

bandh : *taṃ śatena vārdhrībhir āṇḍayor abadhnāt*, with a hundred leather straps he bound him ... (PB. 9. 2. 22). *mitras tvā padi badhnītām*, may Mitra bind thee by foot (ŚB. 3.2.4.18).

Cf. *tasminn abhidyotitabandhupadme pratāpasamśoṣitaśatrupaṅke* | *babandha taṃ nottamasaukumāryā kumudvatī bhānumatīva bhāvaṃ* ॥ (Raghu 6. 36). Cf. Pali : *goṇe cakkesu bandhiṃsu* (J. 1. 101).

grah (sam) : *tān u prāṇeṣu samagṛhṇāt*, he seized them by (the organs of) the vital airs (ŚB. 7.5.2.4).

Cf. *gṛhīta iva keśeṣu mṛtyunā dharmam ācaret* (Pañcatantra).

Cf. Pali : *atha naṃ sūkaraṃ pādesu gahetvā* (J. 1. 197).

pad (*abhi*) : *athainaṃ dakṣiṇe bāhāv abhipadya japati*, thereupon, taking hold of him by the right arm, he mutters (ŚB. 5. 3. 3. 11).

mṛś (*abhi*) : *athāntara aṃse'bhimṛśya japati*, having touche him on the chest, he then mutters (ŚB. 5.4.4.5).

In classical Sanskrit *ā-dā* is similarly construed : e. g. *raśmiṣvivādāya nagendrasaktāṃ nivartayāmāsa nṛpasya dṛṣṭim* (Raghu 2. 28 cd). *nākasmād yuvatī vṛdhaṃ keśeṣvākṛṣya cumbati* (Hitopadeśa).

Beget in :

jan : asyāṃ jāyate punaḥ, in her he is born again (AB. 33.1.10). *ā hāsmin vīro jāyate*, to him a hero is born (AB. 5. 6). *nāsyāparūpam ātman jāyate*, nothing unshapely is born in him (TS. 3.5.7). *vasīyān vasīyān haivāsya prajāyām ājāyate*, ever more brilliant is a son born in his offspring (KB. 6. 9).

In classical Sanskrit *jana* and other roots of cognate meaning, are construed with locative of the mother and ablative of the father ; e. g., *sūryāt kuntikanyāyāṃ jajñe karṇaḥ* (Mbh. 1. 68. 98). *samādhimatyām udapādi bhavyā* (Kumārasaṁbhava). *tasyām tasmād dvijavarād eṣa jāto 'smi śāpataḥ* (Kathāsaritsāgara 2. 31b).

Obtain in :

labh : yaśca some labhate, who obtains a hold of the Soma (ŚB. 2.2.3.1 ; 4.2.4.9). *na yat śūdreṣu alapsata*, a thing which they have not found even among the Śūdras (AB. 33.5.3). *uta hi vaśe labdhvā*, when it accrues to him (ŚB. 1.9.2.35). *tāsu putraṃ na lebhe*, had no son from them (AB. 33.1.1). *yaśca yajñe lapsamāno bhavati yas ca na* (AB. 1.13.8).

vid : *apsu vindati*, finds in water (ŚB. 2.1.1.5).

Look at :

īkṣ : sa rarāṭyām īkṣamāṇo 'nubrūyāt, he should recite looking at the fronton (AB. 5.3.15). But *rarāṭyām* can as well be taken as an accusative of the base *rarāṭyā*, iustead of the locative of the *rarāṭī*.

dṛś : tac chilpam paśyanti yat pitaryapaśyat, seeing the wonder which he saw in his father (PB. 16.4.3).

Strike in :

han (*ā*) : *rāṣṭram eva tad viśi āhanti*, royal power indeed presses hard on the people (ŚB. 13.2.9.7).

naś (vi, causative) *: yaḥ kāmayeta brahman viśaṃ vi nāśayeyam iti*, who desires, 'may I bring the people to ruin with respect to the Brahman' (TS. 2.3.3).

Wipe in :

mṛj : māsmin mṛjate, these two do not wipe (their sin) off upon him (TS. 2.2.6). *yasmā etad dadāti tasminn eva mṛjānā yanti*, (PB. 17.1.16).

Blnnder in :

muh : yo yajñe muhyati, (AB. 11.11.16).

Rule :

kṣi : kṣayantaṃ rādhasi mahati, ruling in great wealth (ŚB. 7.3.1.33). The genitive (*q. v.*) is a concurrent idiom here.

Practise in (rituals); to praise :

car : prātaḥsavanasyaivāvṛtā prātaḥsavane careyuḥ (AB. 35.8.6). *anuyājeṣu carati* (ŚB. 3.8.4.8). *tṛtīyasavane saṃtvaramāṇāś caranti*, they proceed hastening at the the third pressing (AB. 14.6.3). Cf. *akṣiṇy avasthitaḥ puruṣaḥ sarvārtheṣu carati* (MU. 6.6).

Cf. Pali : *mātāpitusu dhaṃmaṃ caranto* (J. 1. 152).

arc : asyām (*ṛci*) *arcati* (ŚB. 4.6.7.1).

stu : (See infra : Instrumental Locative).

hu : yad agnau juhoti tad deveṣu juhoti (ŚB. 2.3.1.19).

Sing on :

gā : ṛci sāma gīyate, on the verse the tune is sung (ŚB. 8.1.3,3). *etāsu vyāhṛtiṣu gāyati*, he sings (the tunes) on these (mystic) words (ŚB. 8.7.4.5). *atichandasi gāyati* (ŚB. 14. 3. 1. 11). *ṛkṣu sāmāni gīyante*, to Ṛcas, Sāmans are sung (KB. 6. 11).

kṛ : na yajñe viṣamaṃ karoti (AB. 9.2.6); *devā vai yad yajñe 'kurvan* (AB. 9.7.1).

Verbs signifying motion to, into, upon :

These verbs also govern the accusative. When they govern the accusative they mean '(to go) in the direction of', but when they govern the locative they mean '(to go to, in, i. e., reaches', e. g., *devān gacchati* and *deveṣu gacchati*. For Av. cf. *zemō* (Vend. 6 ; 29, 30, 31); *ahe nmānahe* (Vend. 8. 37), etc.

gam : deveṣu gantavai, to go to the gods (ŚB. 8.6.3.24 ; 9.5.1.48). *yatra jigamiṣati* (TS. 2.3.4). *atha ha śāṇḍilyāyanaḥ prācyāṃ jagāma*, now Ś. was once upon a time sojourning in the eastern region (ŚB. 9.5.1.64).

(*adhi*) : *śilpaṃ hāsminn adhigamyate*, a work of art is accomplished in him (AB. 30.1.3).

(*abhi*) : *na manuṣyeṣu hiraṇyam abhigamyate*, no gold would be gained among men (ŚB. 3.2.4.13).

(*sam*) : *caturthe puruṣe tṛtīye vā saṃgacchāmahe*, in the fourth (or) third man (generation) we unite (ŚB. 1.8.3.6). *agnau manotāḥ saṃgacchante* (AB. 6.10.4); Instrumental and Accusative are concurrent idioms here.

i : pracīyāt, should go to the east (ŚB. 4.5.8.11).

viś (*ā*) : *ā mā goṣu viśatu ā tanuṣu*, may it accrue to me both in the cows and (my own) self (ŚB. 7.3.1.23).

(Causative) : *asmin rāṣṭre śriyam āveśayāmi*, I make prosperity to dwell in this kingdom (AB. 40.4.6). (*pra*, causative) : *tam apsu prāveśayan* (TS. 7.1.6). *andhe tasmai praveśayati*, casts into blind darkness (ŚB. 1. 9. 2. 35). (*pra*) : *tasmin vāk praviṣṭāsa* (ŚB) *tasminn aviśan* (ŚB. 8.6.2.5).

hu : (See above).

dhā : (This verb is more frequently used with the locative than with the dative). *ūrjam asmāsu dīdharat*, may he support strength in us (AB. 24.3.15). (*ā*–) : *athāsmai surākaṃsaṃ hasta ā dadhāti*, then he places in his hand a bowl of Surā (AB. 37.4.8).

Cf. *navāmbudānīkamuhūrtalāñchane dhanuṣy amoghaṃ samadhatta sāyakaṃ* (Raghu 3).

sic : yoṣāyāṃ retaḥ siñcati (ŚB. 4.3.2.3). Cf. *sukhair niṣiñcantam ivāmṛtaṃ tvaci* (Raghu 2. 26).

ni (*vi -ā-*) : *tā eteṣu pātreṣu vyanayati*, he distributes them in these vessels (ŚB. 5.3.5.19).

pad (*ā-*) : *atha yadi somakrayaṇyāṃ kiṃcid padyeta*, and if (his Soma) were to meet with any mishap in regard to the (cow) given in exchange for the Soma (ŚB. 12.6.1.9).

pat (*parā-*) : *yad adya hotṛvarye jihmaṃ cakṣuḥ parāpatat*, what at the Hotṛ-choice may escape the crooked eye this day (ŚB. 1.5. 1.20).

Cf. *netravrajāḥ paurajanasya tasmin vihāya sarvān nṛpatīn nipetuḥ* (Raghu 6. 7).

ūh (*adhi-*) : *bhūteṣu imaṃ yajamānam adhyūha*, raise thou this sacrificer above the beings (ŚB. 13.4.3.2). The locative here may also be taken as governed by the preposition *adhi*.

sṛj (*vi-*) : *tasminn apahatapāpman vācaṃ visṛjate*, infuses speech into him, thus freed from foulness (ŚB. 6.6.4.1).

(*api-*) : *taṃ eva vṛṣāṇam patnīṣu apisṛjati*, him he lets loose as a male among wives (TS. 6.6.6).

ṛj (*api-*) : *śate goṣu ṛṣabham apyṛjanti* (PB. 25.10.19).

śri : *trivṛt tvā stomaḥ pṛthivyāṃ śrayatu*, may the T. S. uphold thee on earth (ŚB. 8.6.1.5).

(*adhi-*) : *agra eva tasyāhavanīye 'dhiśrayati*, puts it from the beginning on the 'Āhavanīya' (ŚB. 1.3.1.20).

ruh (*adhi-*, causative) : *svarge loke yajamānam adhirohayati* (ŚB. 7.2.1.10).

(*sam-ā-*) : *enam yonau samārohayati* (TS. 2.4.10).

vap (*ā-*) : *athāsmai pañcākṣān pāṇau āvapati* (ŚB. 5.4.4.6).

hve : *anne 'nne havāmahe*, in respect of every food we call him (ŚB. 6.3.2.4). (*upa-*) *upa māsmin sahasre hūyethām* (PB. 21.1.1). *priya enaṃ dhāman upāhvayanta*, invited him to the favourable resort (ŚB. 1.7.3.11).

vṛj (*pra*) : *yajamānaṃ ha so 'gnau pravṛṇakti*, he places on fire the sacrificer (AB. 34.8.6). *net paśūn agnau pravṛṇajāma* (ŚB. 1. 8.1.38).

sev : *asya salilasyā pāre 'śvaḥ śvetaḥ sthāṇau sevate*, on the other end of this stake a white horse stands at a post (ŚB. 3.6.2.4).

kṛ : *nainam manasi kuryāt*, he should not pay heed to it (AB. 32.11.3). *ta u ha strīkāmās te hāsu manāṃsi kurvate*, they like

women, and they turn their minds towards them (KB. 12.3). *devā asurān nirbādhe 'kuruta*, the gods reduced the Asuras to straits (TS. 5.1.10) *enam vaśe kṛtvā* (ŚB. 3.1.1.11).

(*upa-sam-ā-*) : *tāsu etam upasamākurvanti*, thereto they add that one (ŚB. 4.5.8.12).

Cf. *pādanyāsam kṣitidharaguror mūrdhni kṛtvā sumeroḥ*, (an interpolated verse in Śakuntalā). Cf. Pali : *manasi karitvā* (J.1.240).

as (anu-ava-) : yathā guṇe guṇam anvasyati, as a man casts thread on thread (TS. 7.2.4).

ās (*adhi-*) : *tasyām indrāgnī adhyāstām* (AB. 10.4.4).

hṛ : girau bhāraṃ harann iva, even as one taking a burden up a mountain (ŚB. 13.2 9.3).

Dwell with :

vas : *juhvatsu vasati*, lives among the offerers of (oblation) (AB. 25. 5. 9). *niṣādeṣu tisro vasati*, dwells with the Niṣādas for three (nights) (PB. 16. 6. 7). *jane tisro vasati* (PB. 16. 6. 3). *candramā nakṣatre vasati*, the moon resides with the Nakṣatra (ŚB. 10. 5. 4. 17). *sā hāsmin jyog uvāsa*, she (Urvaśī) dwelt with him (Pururavas) for a long time (ŚB. 11. 5. 1. 2). *jyog vā iyam urvaśī manuṣyeṣu avātsīt*, this Urvaśī has dwelt long among men (ŚB. 11. 5. 1. 2). *protir ha kauśāmbeyaḥ kausuruvindir uddālake āruṇau brahmacaryam uvāsa*, P. K. K. dwelt with U. A. as a student (ŚB. 12.2.2.13). *brāhmaṇe samānagotre vaset*, (he) should dwell with a Brahman of the same family (KB. 25. 25).

Note the following expression : *atha haite aruṇe aupaveśau samājagmuḥ* (ŚB. 10.6.11). Prof. Eggeling translates thus : 'now at the house of Aruṇa Aupaveśi, these came once together'.

Note : In Cl. Skt. a few other verbs are also construed with the locative, e. g.,

gūh : ke hi vittaṃ rahasyaṃ vā strīṣu śaknoti gūhitum (Kathāsaritsāgara 1.52).

gup : na gopyaṃ yadi mādṛśe (ibid. 2.28).

bhū (sam-) yan manuṣyeṣu sambhavet (ibid., 6. 148).

śvas (vi-) : puṃsi viśvasiti kutra kumārī (Pañcatantra). Cf. Pali: *tāsu ko jātu vissase* (J. 1.293).

4. Instrumental Locative.

The locative has, in a few places, supplanted the instrumental but that mainly with such verbs as are construed with the locative in some other sense.

Sociative : *brahmaudane suvarṇaṃ hiraṇyaṃ dadāti*, along with the priest's mess of rice he presents gold (to the priests) (ŚB. 13. 1.1.4). Instrumental : *atha vākovākye brahmodyaṃ vadanti*, thereupon they utter the Brahmodya in (the form of a) dialogue (ŚB. 4.6.9.20). *tārkṣyo svargakāmasya rohet*, with the Tārkṣya (hymn) should he mount for one desiring the heaven (AB. 18.6.20). *maitrāvaruṇīṣu hi tasmai stuvate*, in verse to Mitra and Varuṇa they chant praises for this (liabation) (ŚB. 4.2.3.12). *sarparājñyā ṛkṣu stuvate* (ŚB. 4.6.9.17).

The following instances lie on the border of the instrumental and the locative :

agnim ... mukhe babhāra, carried Agni in his mouth (ŚB. 1.4 1.10). *etaṃ hasteṣu bibhrati*, this they do hold in their hands (ŚB. 9.2.3.24).

5. Dative Locative.

Of all these cases the dative has contributed the most to the idioms of the locative. In fact, as the following examples will show, most of the typical functions of the dative have concurrent idiom in the locative ; and this tendency of syncretism manifests itself greater and greater with the development of the Indo-Aryan language. It should be noted that the instrumental, the dative and the locative fell together in the dative in Greek.

dā (pari-) : pitṛn eva yame paridadāti, he thereby commits the Fathers to Yama (ŚB. 12.3.1.19). *varhiṣi dadāti* (TS. 1.5.1).

dhā : nainaṃ rāṣṭre dhāsyasi nāsmin rāṣṭraṃ dhāsyasi (ŚB. 12. 9.3.5),

kṛ : *manuṣyeṣu hiraṇyaṃ karoti*, bestows gold on men (ŚB. 3.2. 4.13).

dhṛ (causative) : *dhāraya mayi prajām* (ŚB. 6.5.2.3).

tan : *dhīrā deveṣu yajñaṃ tanvānāḥ*, the wise, performing sacrifice to the gods (ŚB. 6.2.2.4).

Dativus Finalis.

yuj : *agniṃ gariṣṭhe 'yuñjan*, appointed Agni to the chief (office) (ŚB. 1.4.2.1). Cf. *araṇyayāne sukare pitā māṃ prāyuṅkta rājye bata duṣkare tvām* (Bhaṭṭi 3).

bhū (*abhi-ā-*) : *yady enaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalam pāne 'bhyābhaved udakastokam āścotayitavai brūyāt*, if it should happen to him to drink pure milk, let him have one drop of water poured into it (ŚB. 2. 3.1.16).

vad : *deveṣu antato'rthaṃ vadate* (KB. 2.4).

vṛ : *yuṣmān indro'vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye*, you Indra chose for the contest with Vṛtra (TS. 1.8.5 ; ŚB. 1.1.3.8).

(pra-) : *ārtvijye pravṛtaḥ*, chosen for the office of the Ṛtvij (ŚB. 1.9.1.29).

jāgṛ : *prāṇa somapīthe māṃ jāgṛhi*, awake me for the Soma-drink (PB. 1.6.16).

The use of the locative for the final dative is of very frequent occurrence in cl. Sanskrit ; e. g., *niyujya taṃ homaturaṅga-rakṣaṇe* (Raghu. 3.38). *mā māṃ prayukthāḥ kulakīrti-lope* (Bhaṭṭi 3.54.c). *sarvaśvāpadaprabhutve'bhiṣiktaḥ* (Pañcatantra).

(1) Nimittasaptamī.

The locative sometimes expresses that on account of which something is done (Vide the Kāśikā on P. 2.3.36). This idiom which was quite productive in the Vedic Prose, became totally unproductive in the classical language.

devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu saṃyetire, the gods and the Asuras strove for these worlds (AB. 37.6.1).

rāṣṭre ete vyāyacchante, it is after royal sway that these strive (ŚB. 13.1.6.3). *tasya payasi vyāyacchante*, they contend for his milk (TB. 2.1.6.2).

tasmin vyavadanta, they disputed about it (ŚB. 8.6.3.3). Cf. *kṣetre vivadante* (Kāśikā on P, 1.3.47).

devā vā oṣadhīṣv ājim ayuḥ (TB. 1.3.37 Mysore Edition) ; *devā vā brahmann avadanta* (TB. 1.124 My Ed.) ; *tā abruvann ājim ayāmāsmin sahasre*, they said, 'let us run a race for this thousand' (KB. 18.1). *tasmāt sāvitre na saṃvadeta* (TB. 3.10.9.6).

Cf. *carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram । keśeṣu camarīṃ hanti sīmni puṣyalako hataḥ ॥* The panther is killed on account of its skin, the elephant for its tusk, the yak for its tail and the musk-deer on account of its musk gland (Kāśikā on P.2.3. 36). Patañjali quotes this verse in his Mahābhāṣya. It is quite probable that this idiom was taken up from the then current speeches ; cf. Pali : *ajinamhi haññate dīpī nāgo dantehi haññati । dhanamhi dhanino hanti aniketaṃ asanthavaṃ ।* (J. 6. 61 ; 5. 269). Cf. J. 5. 300.

(6) The locative with Verbal Nouns and Substantives.

[See §3].

The verbal nouns generally partake of the character of their roots, which are themselves construed with the locative.

tasmin indra upahavam aicchata, Indra desired an invitation to the rite (TS. 2. 4. 12). *sarveṣu eva tad bhūteṣūpahavam icchate* (KB. 3. 7.).

tad vai nau tavaiva pitari praśnaḥ, let us then question thy father (AB. 22.9.6). *te deveṣu praśnam aitām*, they disputed before the gods (AB. 13.4.1).

devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu saṃyattā āsuḥ, the gods and the Asuras were in conflict over these worlds (KB. 1.2) ; (it is really a Nimittasaptamī).

kāmapraśna eva me tvayi yājñavalkya asat, let mine be (the privilege of) asking questions of thee when I list, O Yājñavalkya, (ŚB. 11.6.2.10).

yad idam sṛñjayeṣu rāṣṭraṃ tat tvayi dhāsyāmi, I shall confer upon thee that dominion over the Sṛñjayas (ŚB. 12.9.3.2).

asmāsu rāddhir asat, may there be prosperity in us (ŚB. 8.6.3.2). *sā dīkṣāyām ābhaktim aicchata*, she desired a portion in the consecration (KB. 9. 1).

tatra sa kāma upāpto yo'nupraharaṇe. thence is obtained the desire which is in the throwing-after (AB. 9.3.8). *yaḥ śatāyutāyāṃ kāmaḥ*, whatever wish there is in a life of a hundred years (ŚB. 10.2.6.12). *ye vai ke cānandā anne pāne mithune*, joys that are in food, drink and union (KB. 2. 7). *varṣāsu vai sarve kāmāḥ*, in the rains are all desires (KB. 1. 3).

yāvantaḥ pṛthivyām bhogāḥ bhūyān putre pitus tataḥ, whatever are the delights in the earth greater than these is that of a father in his son (AB. 33. 1. 5). *ṛtavo ha vai deveṣu yajñe bhāgam īṣire*, the seasons were desirous to have a share of sacrifice among the gods (ŚB. 1.6.1.1).

teṣu apitvī bhavati, obtains a share among them (ŚB. 1.9.1.3). *agniḥ sarveṣu haviḥṣu bhāgī bhavati*, Agni becomes a sharer in all the oblations (KB. 3. 4 ; 10. 6).

yady adhvaryoḥ śālāyām arthaḥ syāt, If the Adhvaryu have business in the hall (ŚB. 3.6.2.20).

This idiom is found also in the earlier classical writers : e. g. *tenārthitvaṃ tvayi vidhivaśād dūrabandhur gato 'ham* (Meghadūta 1.6); *yāñcā moghā varam adhiguṇe nādhame labdhakāmā* (ibid., 1.6) ; *sauhārdyād vā vidhura iti vā mayyanukrośabuddhyā* (ibid., 2. 54).

(1) The Locative with the Participles in *-ta*.

bahu manuṣyeṣu samṣṛṣṭam, (you have) wandered and mixed much among men (ŚB. 4.1.5.14). *ukthesu śritāḥ*, are resting in the Ukthas (AB. 15.5.6). *apsu eva yajño mṛṣṭaḥ*, sacrifice wipes (the guilt) off upon the waters (ŚB. 1.2.3.4). *tad yuṣmāsu hutam* (ŚB. 1.3.3.16). *etad utsannaṃ strīṣu*, this is extinct in women (ŚB. 12.7.2.11). *vāre vṛtam*, chosen as a boon (TS. 2.5.1). *yathā tā ukthāni maṇir iva sūtre otāni bhaviṣyanti sūtram iva vā maṇau*, that the hymns shall be strung as a pearl on a thread, or a thread through a pearl (ŚB. 123.4.2). *tāsu hi teṣām manāṃsi otāni*

(AB. 6.10.4). Cf. *sarveṣu vedeṣu snāto bhavati sarveṣu deveṣu jñāto bhavati* (SmB, 1.2.10). *śabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ* (MU. 6. 22).

Cf. cl. Skt., *tvayy āyattaṃ kṛṣiphalam iti bhrūvilāsānabhijñaiḥ . . . janapadavadhūlocanapāḥ pīyamānaḥ* (Meghadūta 1.16). *viraktaḥ sveṣu bandhuṣu* (Kathāsaritsāgara 3.45). Cf. *virakto jīvitam prati* (ibid., 6. 78). *babhūva śakaṭāraś ca sahāyaḥ praṇato mayi* (Kathāsaritsāgara 5. 56).

7. The Locative with Adjectives.

(1) Very rarely the locative is used in the partitive sense with superlatives in *-iṣṭha-*. This use is not found in the Mantras. A few occur in the Brāhmaṇas, but in the latter language it is very frequent as a substitute for the genitive (*yataśca nirdhāraṇam* P. 2.3.41).

indro me prajāyāṃ śreṣṭhaḥ syāt (PB. 16. 4. 2). *yo javiṣṭho bhuvaneṣu*, who is the swiftest among beings (ŚB. 11. 3. 1. 6). *bhrājiṣṭho'ham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam*, may I be the most splendid among men (ŚB. 4.5.4.12).

(2) The Partitive Locative with the Comparative in *-īyas-*.

Only one instance I have noted : *na hāsmat kaścana śreyān samāneṣu bhavati*, there is no one higher than he among his equals in station (ŚB. 10. 3. 5. 11).

(3) The Partitive Locative with other Adjectives.

tasmād ekaḥ prajāsu ṛdhukaḥ, whence one man is apt to thrive amongst creatures (ŚB. 13. 1. 3. 8). *etau ha vai dvau manuṣyeṣu dhṛtavratau* (ŚB. 5.4.4.5). *jyctiḥ sveṣu bhavati śreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati* (AB. 6.1.9). *mukhaṃ sveṣu bhavati śreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati* (AB. 8. 4. 9). *nainam anyaḥ sveṣu pratyudeti ya evaṃ veda* (PB. 20.6.5). *ya u ha evaṃvidaṃ sveṣu pratipratir bubhūṣati*, and if anyone strives to become a rival among his own people (ŚB. 10.3.5.9).

(4) Other Adjeetives governing the Locative.

śīrṣaṇi evāgre palito bhavati, it is on the head that one first becomes grey (ŚB. 11.4.1.6).

ya eva nṛtyati yo gāyati tasminn evaiṣā nimiślatamā iva, to him who dances and who sings, these (women) are most devoted (ŚB. 3.2.4.6). *bhava samane pārayiṣṇuḥ*, be thou victorious at the gathering (ŚB. 5.1.4,10).

Cf. cl. Skt. : *jāne sakhyās tava mayi manaḥ sambhṛtasneham* (Meghadūta 2.33) : *mā kaulīnād asitānayane mayy aviśvāsinī bhūḥ. iṣṭe vastuny upacitarasā premarāśī bhavanti* (ibid., 2.51).

8. The Locative with the Adverb.

I have noted only one instance :

ye'rvāk viṃśeṣu varṣeṣu prayanti, those who pass away in the years below twenty (ŚB. 10.2.6.8).

9. The Locative with Prepositions.

Only four prepositions *adhi*, *antar*, *api* and *upa*, govern the locative in the Brāhmaṇa literature. In the Saṃhitā a few more, notably *ā*, govern the locative.

adhi : *etam māhendram uddhāram udaharata vṛtraṃ hatvānyāsu devatāsv adhi*, being above the other deities (TS. 6.5.5). *tad enam eṣu lokeṣu adhi dīkṣayati*, thus he initiates him (to rule) over these worlds (ŚB. 5.4.5.14). *sā eṣaiva daśati adhi sampat*, this is the perfection as regards the ten (ŚB. 11.1.2.9). *na sahasre'dhi kiṃ cana dadyāt*, one ought not to give anything above a thousand (ŚB. 30.5.2.14).

antar : *yonyām antaḥ* (AB. 80.5.2).

Cf. Av. *antare dąṅhupāperetānē* (Yt. 10.48).

api : *apīndraḥ somapīthe 'bhavat*, Indra obtained later a share in the Soma-drinking (AB. 35.2.1).

For Avesta cf. Ys. 32.8.

upa : *yad eṣu lokeṣūpa*, what is over and above those worlds (ŚB. 6.2.3.8).

Cf. Av. : *upo upabotē harayāo* (Yt. 5. 21).

10. The Adverbial Locative.

A few stereotyped locatives are used as adverbs : *agre* : *agra imaṃ yajñaṃ nayata*, forward lead this sacrifice (TS. 1.1.5). Cf. ŚB. 3.7.3.1 ; 4.1.4.2.

ante : tasmāj jāyāyā ante nāśnīyāt, whence he (the husband) should not eat food in the presence of his wife (ŚB. 10.5.2.9).

kṣipre : kṣipre sahasram prajāyate, quickly a thousand springs up (TS. 7.1.7). Cf. ŚB. 1.2.5.17. *kṣipre bhogyatām aśnute* (KB. 1.1).

madhye : ŚB. 4.3.1.12, etc.

cire (see *supra*).

sāye (KB. 2.8).

Av. *mosu, dūire, pasne.*

11. The Locative Absolute.

The locative absolute is a standing idiom in Indo-Aryan both in the oldest and in the latest. When used absolutely the locative is always accompanied by a participle. This idiom owes its origin to the locative of circumstance. In classical Sanskrit this latter idiom died out and in those cases where it remained they supplied the locative singular of the present participle *sat* and thus changed it to an apparent locative absolute. In the Brāhmaṇas it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the locative absolute from the locative of circumstance ; e. g., *aṣṭāśītiḥ sahasrāṇi . . . hayān prāyacchat yajamāne purohite* (AB. 39.8.5). *akṣīṇe eva pūrvasminnanne aparam annam āgacchati*, while the old food is still unfailing, fresh food is accruing (ŚB. 1.6.4.14).

In the following instance the locative can be taken as absolute or as governed by the verb : *prātaranuvākam anubruvati pramodante*, all the deities delight in him beginning the morning litany (AB. 7.6.2).

(Vide P. 2.3.67, and the Genitive Absolute, *supra*).

With the present participles active ;

deveṣu ajānatsu asurān upāvartanta, gods not approving, they approached the Asuras (ŚB. 1.6.1.2). *tad āyatsu vācayati*, while they go there, he makes the sacrificer (it) utter (ŚB. 3.3.2.6). *tāsu tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṃ sambabhūva* (ŚB. 11.1.6.1).

With the passive present participle :

vapāyāṃ vā āhriyamāṇāyām agner medho' pakrāmati, when the omentum is being brought the lustre of Agni departs (TS. 3.1.6). *yasyāśvīne śasyamāne sūryo nāvir bhavati* (TS. 2. 1. 10). *etāsu anūcyamānāsu yaṃ dviṣyāt tam aṅguṣṭhābhyām avabādhate* (ŚB. 1.3.5.7).

With the passive past participle :

udita āditye prātaranuvākam anubrūyāt (AB. 13. 5. 4). *kāle āgate vijāyate* (TS. 5.5.1). *saṃsthite visṛjate*, after the completion he divests himself (of the vow) (ŚB. 1.1.1.3).

atha śvo bhūte, and on the following day (ŚB. 5.2.3.2). (This phrase is of very frequent occurrence in the epics. Cf. Mbh. 5.162.44 ; 5.163.14 ; 7.85.1 ; 16.7.15, etc.). Cf. *ladhesu kaliṃgesu* (Girnar XIII. 1) ; Pali : *acirapakkantesu pāṭaligāmiyesu upāsakesu* (Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta).

" Traces of the locative absolute are to be found in Aveta" (Jackson) : *yat ahmi nmāne yat māzdayasnoiš apā vā nā vā irithyāt-varaṅti vā snaēzinti vā barénti vā teṃ ṇhąm vā aiwigātō ayąn varétafšō varétovīre jasénti- kutha tē vérézyaṃ* (Vend. 8. 4) ; *frā hama sacainti*, the summer being past (Vend. 5.10) ; cf. Vend. 19. 28.

12. Elliptic Constructions.

(i) Sometimes the substantive is omitted :

tasmāt mānuṣe yāvān na vimuñcate, accordingly, in human practice, so long as (a guest) has not unyoked (ŚB. 3.4.15).

tasmād u strī pumāṃsaṃ saṃskṛte tiṣṭhantam abhyaiti, whence a woman approaches a man who stays in a well-trimmed (house) (ŚB. 3.3.1.22).

sahasre grahītavyaḥ, it should be drawn at a (sacrifice with a thousand (cows as the priests' fee) (ŚB. 4.6.1.15).

(ii) Sometimes the verb governing the locative is omitted :

ajakṣire bhavati, it is (cooked in) goats milk (TS. 2.2.4).

agnaye ... ajakṣire carum nirvapet, should offer an oblation (cooked in) goat's milk to Agni (TS. 2.2.4).

kṣire bhavati (cooked) in milk (TB. 1.3.38 Mysore Edition).

lekhāsu hime prāṇāḥ, these vital are (move) in lines (channels ŚB. 7.2.2.13).

(Concluded)

EKĀDAŚĀDYĀDHIKARAṆA OF MURĀRIMIŚRA

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INTRODUCTION

The following pages, which are now for the first time presented to the public, embody the text of a Mīmāṁsā work, called *Ekādaśādyādhikaraṇa*, attributed to Mahāmahopādhyāya Murāri Miśra. The work is an independent treatise which deals with the treatment of *Tantra* and *Āvāpa* as used in Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. Correctly interpreted the name of the work is *Ekādaśādhyāyādyādhikaraṇa*, that is, a treatise which treats of the subject matter of the first Adhikaraṇa of the eleventh Adhyāya of the Mīmāṁsā-darśana. I call it an independent treatise, only because, it is not like a commentary either on the Jaiminīya Sūtras or on Śabara's Bhāṣya on those sūtras, although it takes the first Sūtra of the first Pāda of the eleventh Adhyāya as the basis of its treatment.

The author discusses here various definitions of *Tantra* and *Āvāpa* and finally gives his own. He takes up for his discussion the following definitions of *Tantra* :—

(a) सकृत्त्वमेव तन्त्रत्वम् ;

(b) अनेकोपकारकत्वे सत्येकत्वम् ;

(c) अनेकशेषत्वे सत्येकमनेकोपकारकम् ;

(d) अनेकोद्देशेनानुष्ठानसकृत्त्वम् ; and

(e) आवृत्त्यभावस्तन्त्रत्वम्.

But as each of these is fallacious, the author rejects all of them and gives his own. He also refers to the definition given by the Bhāṣyakāra — 'यत्सकृत्कृतं बहूनामुपकरोति' and says that this definition being fallacious (too-wide) as it covers अप्रयोज्य and अप्रसङ्ग, the टीकाकृत् has explained it as 'तन्त्रं नाम भेदेन प्राप्तौ सत्यां सकृदनुष्ठानेनार्थसिद्धिः'. We cannot say at present anything about the commentator of the Bhāṣya (टीकाकृत्) referred to above.

As to the author of this work we cannot say anything more than what is found in the colophon of this work, with any great certainty. But the style of writing, the manner of treatment of the subject matter according to the Adhikaraṇas based on the principal Sūtra of the respective Adhikaraṇas, and the similarity of the references of the works suggest that the author of this treatise is the same as the author of the *Tripāḍīnītinayanam*[1], which is also an independent work on the second, third and fourth Pādas of the first Adhyāya of the Jaiminīya Sūtras in accordance with the Adhikaraṇas. Besides various other references of old authors and their works, there are several references of *Pañjikā*, which is another name of *Ṛjuvimalā* by Śālikanātha Miśra, and *vivaraṇa*, which is another name of Prabhākara Miśra's Commentary on Śabara's Bhāṣya, called Bṛhatī.[2]

This identity also does not remove our difficulty, as the date and identification of the author of the Tripādīnītinayanam are themselves not established as yet beyond doubt. I have shown elsewhere[3] that there are at least five Murāri Miśras in the field of Sanskrit literature, who have flourished from time to time. After a close study of the various works attributed to various Murāris, I am inclined to think that these two works are from the pen of that Murāri Miśra, who has been referred to by Gaṅgeśopādhyāya in his Nyāyatattvacintāmaṇi and by his son Vardhamānopādhyāya in his commentaries on Cintāmaṇi, Nyāyakusumāñjali and others, and who is connected with the proverb–*Murārestṛtīyaḥ panthāḥ*. This Murāri Miśra cannot be later than the thirteenth century A. D. He cannot at the same time be placed before the eleventh century A. D. It appears that he had written a complete treatise on all the Adhikaraṇas of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā of which these two fragments only are available, as here and there, we find references of other chapters, in these two works.

1 This work is being published from Madras, in the Journal of Oriental Research, by Pandit T. R. Chintamani, M, A.

2 Vide the Princess of Wales' Saraswatibhavana Studies Vol. VI, Benares.

3 Umesha Misbra—'Murārestṛtīyaḥ panthāḥ'—paper submitted to the Fifth Oriental Conference, Lahore.

The *Ms*,, from which the present edition is prepared, is a copy of a Palm-Manuscript belonging to the Nepal Rāj Library. It was due to the usual kindness of my teacher Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad, that the authorities of the Nepal Raj Library got it copied and sent it to us. The palm-manuscript was a transcription of one Harikara, a devotee of the goddess of learning, son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Ratnākara. This is the only *Ms*. known upto this date of this work. No doubt, it is not out of risk to attempt editing from a single manuscript, but the risk has been consciously taken up only with a view to preserve the fragment of the work of the great Mīmāṁsaka.

In conclusion, I must once more greatfully acknowledge my indebtedness to my kind teacher Dr. Ganganath Jha, but for whose personal interest in the work and the subject matter with which it deals, the present edition would not have been taken in hand. I cannot but thank the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, who have kindly accepted its publication in their Annals.

श्रीः

श्रीमुरारिमिश्रविरचितं

एकादशाद्याधिकरणम्

(तन्त्रावापस्वरूपविमर्शरूपम्)

ॐनमः शिवाय । प्रयोजनाभिसंबन्धात् पृथक्सतां ततः स्यादैककर्म्यमेकशब्दाभिसंयोगात् । ११-१-१-१

बाधाभ्युच्चयलक्षणं वृत्तम् । तन्त्रावापलक्षणं वर्णयिष्यामः ।

तत्र के चित् कार्यतन्त्रतामध्ये प्रयाजादिपदार्थतन्त्रतामप्यनुष्ठानतन्त्रतामध्यायानुगत्याहुः । तत्रादौ तन्त्रावापस्वरूपमेव विवेचनीयम्—

अथ तन्त्रस्वरूपविमर्शः ।

यदि सकृत्त्वमेव तन्त्रत्वं तदा सोमे दीक्षणीयादीनां तन्त्रत्वं स्यात् । अथानेकोपकारकत्वे सत्येकत्वं तर्हि प्रसङ्गेऽपि तन्त्रत्वप्रसङ्गः । अनेकशेषत्वे सत्येकमनेकोपकारकं तन्त्रमिति चेत्-न । पुरोडाशकपालेन व्यभिचारात् । अनेकोद्देशेनानुष्ठानसकृत्त्वं तन्त्रत्वामिति चेत्-न । कथं तर्हि कार्यानुष्ठानयोस्तन्त्रत्वं स्यात् ? न ह्यनुष्ठानेऽनुष्ठानान्तरमस्ति । अनुष्ठानस्यानेकार्थस्य सकृत्त्वं तन्त्रत्वमनुष्ठानस्यैवोच्यते न त्वन्यस्य । करिण एव कलभ इति चेत्—न । तर्हि पक्षविकल्पो न्यायेन च निर्णय इति यक्तम् । अन्यस्य तन्त्रपदेनैवानभिधानात् ।

न च कलभन्याये प्रमाणमस्ति । यस्यैवानुष्ठानं तस्यैव तन्त्रत्वं युक्तम् । तथा च प्रयाजादितन्त्रताध्यायानुगत्यैव पञ्जिकायामुक्तम् ।

यस्तु प्रयोगतन्त्रमिति व्यवहारः स प्रयोगप्रयोज्ययोरदूरविमर्षात् । कार्यस्यानुष्ठानसंबन्धितावि[1]रहात् कथं तन्त्रत्वम् ? तदप्य ... मिति चेत्—न । तर्हि कार्यतारूपपुरस्कारः अनुष्ठेयपदार्थपदेनाभिप्रेतः । तद्यवान्तरकार्यस्यानुष्ठेयत्वं ततस्तेऽपि पदार्था एव । न च कार्यस्य प्रयाजायनुष्ठानात्पृथगनुष्ठानमस्ति । तन्त्रतापि पृथक् नास्ति कार्यार्थत्वादनुष्ठानस्य । कार्यतन्त्रताफलमनुष्ठानतन्त्रत्वं फलत्वादेव । नाध्यायार्थ इति चेत्-न । कार्यतन्त्रतायाः पृथगभावादित्युक्तत्वात् । अतः कथमनुष्ठानतन्त्रत्वं कार्यतन्त्रताफलं स्यात् । कार्यस्यापि चानुष्ठेयत्वे किं कार्यतन्त्रत्वं किं वा तदनुष्ठानतन्त्रत्वमध्यायानुगत्यापि विकल्पः स्यात् । न वावान्तरकार्यस्यैकत्वात्सकृदनुष्ठानं संभवति । नैव कस्यापि कार्यस्य सकृदनुष्ठानेन सिद्धौ तन्त्रत्वाविरोधात् । अत एव प्रकृतौ ऋत्वेजो वेदितश्च तन्त्रं भवति । न च तत्रैकं कार्यं प्रति प्रधानं हविरासादनस्य भिन्नत्वात् । प्रयाजादिषु तु यदेकैवावान्तरापूर्वव्याकिः स्वीक्रियते तद्भेदकल्पनायां प्रमाणाभावात् । कथं तर्ह्यनुष्ठानसकृत्त्वविचारणमिति चेत्—

उच्यते—यदा तस्य देशकाले तदीयेन कर्त्रानुष्ठितमिदं तस्य कार्यं जनयति तदेकमनेकं वा भवत्वित्यवधारितं तदा तेषामविशेषं प्रतिसंधाय सकृदनुष्ठानं सर्वोद्देशेन भवतीति ज्ञायते ततः कार्यतन्त्रताज्ञानम् । न च तदानुष्ठानसकृत्त्वम् । कार्यार्थं ह्यनुष्ठानम् । न तु कार्यम-

१ दर्शभेऽभावे ।

रुत्वा किं चानुष्ठेयेयत्तावधारणात्मकेऽवगते बाधेऽनुष्ठानधर्म एव सकृत्त्वं चिन्तयितुं युक्तम् । न तु कार्यस्यैक्यं न वा पदार्थव्यक्तेरेकत्वम् । न च पदार्थकार्यभेदाभेदयोश्च पृथक् प्रमाणमस्त्यनुष्ठानभेदाभेदतः । किं च कार्यस्यैक्यस्याध्यायार्थत्वे प्रसङ्गचिन्ताऽप्यत्रैव स्यात् । न तत्र कार्यं सर्वार्थमिति चेत्–कुत एतत् ? पदार्थस्य सर्वकार्यार्थमनुष्ठितत्वादिति चेत्—पदार्थतन्त्रतैव तर्ह्यध्यायार्थोऽस्तु । न पुनर्बाधात्तन्त्रं भिद्यते । एकस्मिन् तावदनुष्ठाने विवाद एव नास्ति किं तु पुनरनुष्ठाने । अतस्तद्भावो बाध एव स्यात्—

मैवम् । नावृत्त्यभावस्तन्त्रत्वं किं त्वेकस्यानुष्ठानस्य सर्वार्थत्वम् । तथा च प्रयोजनाभावादनुष्ठानान्तरं न भवति । न तु सैव तन्त्रता । यत एव पदार्थस्यैकमनुष्ठानमनेकार्थं तन्त्रता । अनेकार्थस्यानेकमनुष्ठानमनेकार्थमावापः । न च प्रयाजानित्यभ्यास आवापः । कथं पुनर्बाधस्य तन्त्रतां प्रति हेतुत्वम् । अनुष्ठानं हि बाधः । अनुष्ठानधर्मः सकृत्त्वं प्राप्ताप्राप्तविवेकात् चिन्त्यम । विकृतौ बाधः प्रकृतौ तन्त्रत्वमित्यपक्षधर्मत्वम् ।

तत्र केचित्—विकृतौ बाधत्वेनापदार्थप्राप्तिसौष्ठवं न भवति । तदभावे वेतिकर्त्तव्यताकाङ्क्षैव न साध्यते । अतो बलात् सप्तमाद्यपूर्वपक्ष एषितव्यः । तदा च सकलसाधिकारयजपदपूर्वोद्देशेन प्रयाजादिवदाग्नेयादीनां विधानादनेकप्रधानकमेकमपूर्वं नास्तीति कुतस्तन्त्रत्वमिति बाधस्तन्त्रहेतुः —

तन्न । बाधं विना सुतरां सकलपदार्थानुष्ठानेनातिदेशानिर्वाहात् । बाधं विना बाधितेषु तत्रैवोपकारसिद्धिरिति कथं विज्ञायते इति चेत्–मा ज्ञायताम् । न तु ततः पूर्वमुपकारसिद्धिरेव संदिग्धा किं तु किं समयात् किं बाधितेतरादिभिः । न च विशेषसंशये सामान्यं संदिग्धं भवति । अपि चैवमतिदेशेऽपि बाधो हेतुः । अतिदेशश्च बाध इतीतरेतराश्रयं स्यात् । न बाधं विनाऽतिदेशस्यानुत्पत्तिः किं तु निर्वाह इति चेत्–तर्हि सप्तम्यायैश्चेवामिति कथं तद्द्वारा बाधस्य तन्त्रतां प्रतिहेतुत्वमिति निर्वाहमात्रमेव तु स्यात् । न च विकृतेराकाङ्क्षाश्रवणार्थं सप्तमाद्यपूर्वपक्षः किं तु न कार्यस्यान्योन्यमिति न्यायात् स च तत्रैव परिहृतः । विकृतीनां च पूर्वत्वेनाप्युपपत्तेः । अन्यथा दर्वी होमार्थमप्याश्रियेत । लिङ्गदर्शनानुपपत्त्या तदाश्रयणमिति चेत्–न । यत्र नित्यानुवादवचनानि स्युरिति परिहारात् । न त्वन्यदीयानुपपत्त्याऽन्यत्र साधिकारवाक्ये बहुदोषमुद्दिश्याप्येकत्वाद्याश्रयणं युक्तम् । लिङ्गदर्शनन्यायत्वाभावात् । उद्भिदादिषु देवतावगमस्यानन्यथासिद्धत्वात् । सप्तमाद्यपूर्वपक्षाश्रयणमिति चेत्–न । तथाप्यप्राप्तेः । तदा हि ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवोद्देशकेन सोमेन यजेतेत्यङ्गविधायकमेवेति देवतापि सोमयाग एवेन्द्रवाय्वाद्याः संबद्धा इति कथमिवोद्भिदादौ भविष्यति । यदि च बाधं विना प्राप्तिसौष्ठवमेव न भवति तदौपदेशिक्यामपि प्राप्तौ तुल्यमेव तत् । आतिदेशिक्यां तु को विशेषः । अत्र तु बाधो व्युत्पादयितुं शक्यो नान्यत्रेति विशेष इति चेत्–न । उपदेशेऽपि फलचमसादिभिर्नैमित्तिकैर्विशेषविहितैर्वा पदादिभिर्बाधो विद्यते । स चापि दाशमिक इति कथमुपदेशस्य संभवः । तदापि चानेकसाधारण्यात्मकमङ्गाङ्गं यूपादिगोचरं तन्त्रत्वं व्युत्पादयितुं शक्यत एव । प्रयाजादितन्त्रता न सिद्ध्यतीति चेत्–न । तन्त्रत्वमात्रस्याध्यायार्थत्वात् । साऽपि चास्ति । सवनीयाङ्गपशूनां तदापि तन्त्रत्वस्य साधारण्यात् ।

अन्ये तु यदा सत्यामपि प्राप्तौ कार्यसद्भावेऽनुष्ठानं तदभावे च बाध इत्युक्तं तदा प्रकृतावपि सकृदनुष्ठानेनैव कार्यसिद्धेः । पुनरनुष्ठाने कार्याभावात्तन्त्रतासिद्धिरिति बाधस्तन्त्रत्वे हेतुः—

तन्न । न हि अनुष्ठानान्तरविरहे तन्त्रत्वम्, चातुर्मास्ये पुनरनुष्ठानेऽपि प्रयाजादीनां तन्त्रत्वात् । किं तु सकृदनुष्ठानस्य सर्वोद्देश्यताभावे तन्त्रत्वं न भवति तत्संभवे च भवति । न च तत्र क्वचिद्बाधापेक्षा । उच्यते—न बाधस्तन्त्रत्वे हेतुः किं तु तन्न्यायः । अप्रतिपादिते हि बाधप्रतिपादके न्याये । किं बाध्यं किं वा नेति सर्वं संदिग्धम् । तदा चानुष्ठानस्यैव संदेहात्—किमनुष्ठानं सर्वार्थं किं वा नेति न तन्त्रचिन्ता भवतीति बाधलक्षणं तन्त्रलक्षणे हेतुर्भवति । विकृतावियम्...बाधलक्षणं विना न प्रकृताविति चेत्—न । यदा हि कार्यप्राप्तं कार्याभावान्नानुष्ठीयते उपदेशतन्त्रप्राप्तिं कल्पयित्वापि कार्यमनुष्ठीयत इति बाधलक्षणे विविक्तं तदेव प्रकृतावपि संशयावगमो भवति । प्रकृतावपि च सामान्यविशेषभावाद्बाधो दृशमे व्युत्पाद्यत एव ।

किं च प्रकृतिविकृतिसाधारणीयं तन्त्रता चिन्ता (तन्त्रचिन्ता) सा कथं बाधं विना संभवति । भागासिद्धत्वमेवं हेतोः स्यादिति चेत्—न । प्रयाजादिरूपताया एकत्वात् । तत्र विकृतावपि संशयोत्सारणे प्रयाजादिधर्मतानपायात् । यथा हि धूमस्योपरिभागस्थितस्यापि पर्वतस्यैकत्वान्नापक्षधर्मता तथा च विकृताविव तन्त्रत्वव्युत्पादनं प्रकृतौ फलतः सिद्ध्यतीत्येके तद्वत् । अत एव तन्त्रत्वाध्याये अनुष्ठानाक्षिप्ते प्रतिपादिते तन्त्रचिन्ताऽस्त्विति निरस्तम् ।

आक्षिप्तस्यानुष्ठानस्य बाधलक्षणं विना संदिग्धत्वात् । क्रमचिन्ताऽपि बाधानन्तरमस्त्विति चेत्—न । तस्योपदेशिकस्यानागतावेक्षणन्यायेन बाधं प्रतिसंधाय उपदेश एव कर्तुं युक्तत्वात् । तन्त्रता तु कार्यादौ कोऽत्र परामर्शो हेतुरिति चेत्—सकृदनुष्ठानमप्येतत्सर्वेषां कार्यं कर्तुं शक्नोतीति सर्वस्य देशे सर्वस्य काले सर्वस्य कर्त्रानुष्ठीयमानत्वात् संनिपातिवच्च कारकगतफलजनकत्वेन विशेषफलताभावात् । असर्वार्थत्वे च सकृदनुष्ठानस्य देशादीनामावृत्तिप्रसक्तौ पदार्थैक्येन तदैक्यावधारणबाधप्रसङ्गात् । अत एव यस्य संनिपातिनोऽपि कारकगतफलजनकत्वं नास्ति यूपाहूत्यादेः कारकत्वमेव साधारणं यथा वेदिखननादेः तेषां तन्त्रत्वमेव ।

विवरणे तु कार्यप्रत्याम्नायस्तन्त्रत्वस्य मूलमिति हेतुत्वमुक्तम् । यदा हि कार्याभावादनुष्ठानमित्युक्तं तदायेनैवानुष्ठानेन कार्यस्य सिद्धत्वादनुष्ठानान्तरस्य बाधो भवति, तदा चाद्यमेवानुष्ठानं सर्वार्थं भवतीति तन्त्रता सिध्यति । न चैवं बाधलक्षणाभावेनैव तन्त्रतासिद्धेरव्युत्पाद्यमिति वाच्यम्, सिद्धस्यैव पुनराक्षिप्य समाधानात् । यथाप्राप्तिर्ह्यनुष्ठानं प्राप्तिश्च भेदेनेति नैकमनुष्ठानमनेकार्थमित्याशङ्कादेशाद्यभेदेन निराक्रियत इति । अत्र भाष्यम्—तन्त्रं नाम "यत्सकृत्कृतं बहूनामुपकरोति[1]" तदप्रयोज्येऽप्रसङ्गेन च गतमिति मत्वा टीकाकृता व्याख्यातम्—"तन्त्रं नाम भेदेन प्राप्तौ सत्यां सकृदनुष्ठानेनार्थसिद्धिः" । सिध्यत्यनेनेति करणव्युत्पत्त्या कार्यसाधनतया प्रयाजादिरुक्तः । न तु कार्यसिद्धिरेव तन्त्रमित्युक्तिः भाष्यविरोधात् । भाष्ये ह्युपकारकमेव 'साधारणं तन्त्रमित्युक्तं[2]', "बहूनामुपकरोतीत्यभिधानात्" । अत्र प्राप्तिपदेन

१ शाबर पृ. २२६, अध्याय ११-पाद १. सूत्र १ चौखंबासंस्करणम् ।

२ साधारणं भवेत्तन्त्रं परार्थं त्वप्रयोजकः ।
एवमेव प्रसङ्गः स्याद्विद्यमाने स्वके विधौ—इति भाष्ये पृ. २२६.

विनियोगोपादानयोरेव ग्रहणम् तथा हि--अप्रयोजस्य पुरोडाशकपालपदस्य यद्यपि भेदेन विनियोगोऽस्ति तथापि भेदनोपादानं नास्ति । दृष्टानयनादेर्वाजिनादौ विनियोग एव नास्ति एवं प्रासङ्गिकेऽपि भेदनोपादानं नास्ति । तन्त्रेऽपि तन्नास्तीति चेत्--न । भेदनोपादानमिति भिन्नं प्रयोजकत्वमित्यर्थः । तन्त्रेऽपि भिन्नं प्रयोजकत्वं, प्रयुक्तिस्त्वेका । प्रसङ्गप्रयोजकयोस्तु प्रयोजकत्वमेव भिन्नं नास्ति, प्रसङ्गिन्योऽपि शक्तिमात्रस्य विद्यमानत्वात् ।

अथावापस्वरूपविमर्शः ।

आवापस्तु यथाप्राप्तिभेदेनानुष्ठानमिति सुव्यक्तमेव । तन्त्रेणाध्यायार्थो नावापः । प्राप्तिभेदेनावापस्यौत्सर्गिकत्वेनाजिज्ञासितत्वात् । अत्र चाद्ये उपोद्घातेन वर्णकद्वयम् ।

तत्र प्रथमे संशयः—किं स्वर्गकामपदं कर्त्तृविशेषं कालं कामनां वाङ्गतया विधत्ते, उत नियोज्यमिति पूर्वपक्षे विश्वजिन्न्यायात् प्रत्यामेयादिनियोज्यकल्पनम् । तदा चाधिकारभेदात् प्रयोगभेदे कालादीनामपि भेदः । तनश्च न प्रयाजादितन्त्रता । देशकालकर्त्रा विकारा हि प्रयोगस्यानुबन्धभूतास्तेषामन्यतमस्यापि भेदे प्रयोगाभेदः सर्वेषामेव च भेदः स्यात् ।

किं च उदाहृताधिकारित्वस्याविशेषाद् ग्राहकग्रहणमेव नास्ति । प्रयाजादिष्वपि विश्वजिन्न्यायादधिकारिकल्पनम् । तदा च तन्त्रत्वं नास्ति । अस्मिन्नपि पूर्वपक्षेऽपूर्वमेव वाक्यार्थः । कल्पस्यापि स्वर्गस्य क्रियासाध्यत्वाभावात् । ऐहिकस्यापि फलस्यापूर्वं विना साङ्गोपस्थभावात् । अनन्तरभवस्य च फलस्यान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामनवगतेः अवश्यमैहिकत्वेऽपि कालान्तरभावित्वमङ्गीकर्तव्यमित्युक्तमपूर्वाधिकरणे ।

ननु प्रयोगभेदेऽपि तन्त्रताऽस्ति । यथा क्रत्विक्साधनकर्मद्वयं जयाहोमस्य दृशसूर्यग्रहनिमित्तस्य च स्नानस्य नानाब्रह्मवधादिपापक्षयार्थस्य प्रायश्चित्तस्य--मैवम् । जयाहोमस्याधिकारिकर्त्तृकस्याधिकारभेदेन तन्त्रत्वमित्यसिद्धत्वात् । सर्वविधीनां तु प्रत्येकप्रयोगविधित्वमिति चेत्--न । प्रयाजादिष्वपि प्रसक्तेः । प्रायश्चित्ते च नानापापक्षयकामनाधिकारिविशेषणमेव न प्रत्येकं पापक्षयाणामुद्देश्यत्वमिति कथं तन्त्रता ? यत्र त्वेकस्येव पापक्षयस्योद्देश्यता तत्रान्यक्षयः प्रसङ्गादेव भवति न तु तन्त्रेण । स्नाने तु नैमित्तिकं स्नानप्रयुक्तेर्बलवत्त्वान्नित्यस्य प्रसङ्गित्वमेव । यत्र तु द्वयमेव निमित्तं तत्र यद्यपि तन्त्रता भवति तथापि प्रयाजादितन्त्रता न भवतीत्युपोद्घातत्वम् ।

पूर्वपक्षस्तु कर्त्तृविभक्तिबलान्नियोज्यत्वेनान्वयः । तस्मात्कर्त्तृविशेषपरत्वं तदुपसर्जनकामनापरत्वं वा । न चैवं षष्ठ्यविरोधः । नियोज्यास्तित्वे तदधिकरणम् । तदिहापि कल्प्यो नियोज्यः स्वीक्रियत एव ।

ननु स्वर्गकामस्यैव नियोज्यार्थकत्वं तन्त्रोक्तमिति विरोधः । न सोपादानोपसर्जनतापक्षस्तत्र निराकृतः । तत्र कामनाया अनुपादेयत्वस्वभावविरोधेन इह तूपादेयैव कामनाकर्त्तृविशेषणमस्त्विति पूर्वपक्षः ।

राद्धान्तस्तु--कर्त्तृविशेषपरत्वे स्वर्गकामपदस्य स्वर्गकामनाविशेषणं वा स्यादुपलक्षणं वा । प्रथमे कर्त्तुराक्षेपादेरप्राप्तत्वादुपसर्जनीयकामनापरत्वमेव लोहितोष्णीषवत्स्यात् । तदा च स एव दोषः ।

ननु नियोज्यपरत्वेऽपि तुल्यो दोषः। नियोज्यापि नियोगाक्षेपादेरभावेः। श्रुतौ सत्यां कल्पनायोग इति चेत्—समं कर्त्तर्यपि उच्यते—यजेतेतिपदार्थे ह्यवगते स्वर्गकामपदेन कर्त्तृत्वेनान्वयः समर्पणीयः। तत्र लिङ्गम्—यस्मिन् काले नियोगोऽभिधातव्यस्तस्मिन् काले कर्त्तृसंख्याप्येकप्रत्ययगम्यत्वात्तयोर्न च कर्त्राक्षेपात्प्राक्संख्याविधानमस्तु। अतः पदार्थावगमादेव पूर्वं कर्त्तुराक्षेपात् कामिपदं कामनापरत्वमेव स्यात्। विभक्तिवशाच्च स्वर्गकामपदस्य कर्त्तृपरत्वं वाच्यम्। यदाख्यातेन कर्त्तुः संख्याबोधिता तदा सैवेयं संख्येतिप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् कर्त्तृपरता। अतः कर्त्राक्षेपात् कथं पूर्वं स्यात्। नियोज्यस्तु नियोगे प्रतीते चरममाक्षेपणीयो विषयवत् प्रतीत्यघटकत्वात्। तदा च स्वर्गपदमेव कामनाविशिष्टं नियोज्यमुन्नयति। कर्तृविभक्तिस्तु चरमभाविकर्त्तृदशासमाश्रयणेनैव वक्ष्यते।

द्वितीये तु स्वर्गकामनोपलक्षितकर्त्तृविशेष एव समर्प्यमाणः किं कामनया कालविशेषयोगिन्या उपलक्ष्यते गृह्यमिव काकेन यदीदानीं काकवद्देवदत्तीयमिति सदा योगेन वा यस्य विद्यत एव। अन्यव्यावृत्त्या वा यः स्वर्गमेव कामयते नान्यत्। अत्यन्तयोगव्यवच्छेदेन वा यस्य स्वर्गकामना कदाचिदपीति। न प्रथमः कालविशेषस्यानुपादानात्। नायोगव्यवच्छेदेन स्वपादिष्वयोगव्यवच्छेदस्य कर्त्तुमशक्यत्वात्। नाप्यन्ययोगव्यावृत्या न ह्येवं कश्चिदस्ति यः स्वर्गमेव कामयते। आहारादिकामनाया आवश्यकत्वात् न। चरमः सर्वस्य पुरुषस्य तादृशत्वात्। न हि स्वर्गकामनया अत्यन्ताभावः कस्यापि पुरुषस्यास्ति। मुमुक्षोरपि मुमुक्षातः पूर्वं स्वर्गकामत्वात्। यदा स्वर्गकामस्तदा कर्त्तव्यमिति चेत्—न। एवं सति कारकलक्षणप्रसक्तेः। भवतु तर्हि नियोज्यपरत्वमेव स्वर्गकामपदस्य किं तु कामनानिमित्तमिति राद्धान्ताभास एवास्त्विति चेत्—न। कामनास्वभावायातकाम्यसाध्यताविरहादित्युक्तं षष्ठाद्ये।

अपि च कामनाया निमित्तत्वे दर्शपौर्णमासाद्युदाहरणेषु यावज्जीवोपसंहारः स्यात्। यदा जीवति स्वर्गकामश्च स्यात्तदा कुर्यात्। तदा च यावज्जीवश्रुतिर्व्यर्था स्यात्। अथ यावज्जीवश्रुतेर्नोपसंहारः स्यात् तदा कामनानिमित्तत्वं विनापि कामनया निमित्तत्वात्। अथ कालपरित्यागेनापि कामनायां कर्त्तव्यमित्यर्थः। न तत्रापि कालविनियोगस्य तुल्यत्वात्। एवं यावत् सा च श्रुतिरपि न कालपरा लक्षणापत्तेः किं तु निमित्ताधिकारिपरैव। तथाहि—जीवनस्य कर्मव्याप्यत्वमवगम्यते। न च निमित्तं विना व्याप्तिः। न च निमित्तत्वमधिकारिविशेषणं विनेत्यधिकारिपरतैव। स चायं स्वतन्त्र एवाधिकारी। न तु भेदः। न होमपरतन्त्रः। तत्र हि भिन्नजातिप्रकृतस्य भेदनस्य प्रतीतेरधिकृताकृताधिकार एव। न त्विह तथा। तदस्मिन् काम्ये नैमित्तिके च नियोगद्वये उपदेशत एव। धर्मार्थयोर्द्वयोरेवाकाङ्क्षाया अविशेषात् सान्निध्यविशेषाच्च परस्परनैरपेक्ष्याच्च। एकस्य शीघ्रानगतिरन्यस्य विलम्बेनेति नेदं तन्त्रम्। अन्यथा यज्युपांसुयाजरित्युक्तम्।

एवं नियोज्यपरत्वे सिद्धे द्वितीयवर्णकविचारः—किं यथोत्पत्त्याधिकारसंबन्धः किं वा यथाधिकारमुत्पत्तिरिति पूर्वपक्षे प्रत्येकमाग्नेयादिष्वधिकारसंबन्धात् प्रयोगभेदे प्रयाजादितन्त्रता। सिद्धान्ते त्वधिकारैक्ये प्रयोगाभेदात्तन्त्रतेत्युपोद्घातात्संगतिः पूर्वपक्षः उत्पत्तेरेवाधिकाराकाङ्क्षया विश्वजिदादावधिकारस्य दर्शनादधिकारस्योपपदाकृष्टताप्रेर्यकत्वेन भावाविधा-

यकत्वादुपपत्तेरुत्पत्तिवाक्य एव प्रतीतानामेयादीनुद्दिश्याधिकारवाक्यमधिकारं विधत्ते । यदा चोद्दिश्यमानस्य न साहित्यं विवक्षितामिति प्रत्येकमेव साधिकारत्वम् । प्रयाजादीनामपि च तदा चाधिकारत्वमेव । उद्देश्यविशेषणस्य दर्शपूर्णमासस्याविवक्षितत्वादिति के चित् ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—अश्रूयमाणाधिकारे विश्वजिदादौ उत्पत्त्यपेक्षयैवाधिकारान्वयः । श्रुताधिकारे च तस्मिन्नेव वाक्ये नियोगावगतिर्न त्वाग्नेयादिप्रयाजादिवाक्ये प्रधानवाक्ये च दर्शपौर्णमास-नामकयागे विषयनियोग इत्येतावन्मात्रं प्रतीयते न तु निर्धार्यते आग्नेयादिविषय इति । ततः संनिहितानामाग्नेयादीनां प्रयाजादीनां च ग्राहकग्रहणम् । ततः कयोर्दर्शपूर्णमासनामकत्वमित्य-पेक्षायां समुदायद्वयानुवादवशादाग्नेयादिषट्कस्यैव संज्ञेत्यवधार्यते यज्यर्थे षट्क एवेत्यवधार्यते । तस्मात्यदनध्यवसितं कस्याप्येतन्नाम्नो विषयत्वमिति पूर्वमासीत् तदिदानमिध्यवसीयते । न चैनं षट्कपरत्वे यजेः साहित्यलक्षकत्वमिति वाच्यं, एकाभिधानरूढतयैवाख्यातसाहित्य-सिद्धेः । यत्र तु पदद्वयं यथा धवरवदिराविति तत्र द्विधेति साहित्यलक्षणैव । न चोपपदाश्रुत्वा-दधिकारवाक्यस्य न भावविधायकत्वं अधिकारस्योपपदार्थस्याविधेयत्वात् न साधिकारं कर्म पुरुषः कृत्या व्याप्नोतीत्युक्तं षष्ठाद्ये । तस्मादधिकारो न विधेय इति कर्म च विधेयम् । विधेयस्य साहित्यं विवक्षितमिति सहितानामधिकारसंबन्धार्थप्रयोगभेद इति प्रयाजादितन्त्रतैव ।

विवरणे तु यथाधिकारवाक्यमेव प्रतियागं रुचयो नियोगाः प्रतीयन्ते । यजिधातोः समुदायानभिधायकत्वात् । ततश्च नियोगभेदादधिकार एव । यदि च मिलितानामेकविषयत्वं करणत्वमप्येकं स्यादविशेषात् । यथा च प्राजापत्यवाक्ये तन्त्रतामिधानपक्षेऽपि सामान्य-नियोगा सप्तदशैव सूत्राणि तथाऽत्रापि नियोगशास्त्रयोः षट्कत्वमेव युक्तम् ।

राद्धान्तस्तु-प्राजापत्यवाक्ये कल्प्यमानानां नियोगानां शब्देनाभिधानं तत्र संभूयकारित्वार्थं सप्तदशैव कल्पयितुं युक्ता । तत्रापि सप्तदशैव तन्त्रेण विधीयन्ते अत एव शब्दबलेनात्रापि शब्दा-दनेकेषां यागानामुपस्थितेः सप्तदशयागविषयक एव नियोगो विधीयते । इह तु वस्तुबलस्य ताह-शस्याभावात् । विवरणमतेऽपि शब्दबलादेव युगपदुपस्थितिबलादेकमेव । मिलितानां षण्णां विष-यत्वं प्रतीत्यर्थवतो हि विषयत्वम् । यथा प्रतीत्येव युक्तम् । करणत्वं तु सिद्ध्यन्तरत्वम् । सिद्धिश्चावा-न्तरापूर्वद्वारा इति चोत्पत्त्यपूर्वाणि प्रत्याग्नेयादीनि भिद्यन्त इति प्रत्येकमेव करणत्वम् । अत एव प्रत्येकमेवोपकाराकाङ्क्षोपकृतकरणसाध्यत्वान्नियोगस्य किं तु पदार्थानां नियोगेन युगपद्गृही-तत्वात्तेषां नियोगैदमर्थ्यनिर्वाहाकाङ्क्षायां नियोगस्य चोपकाराकाङ्क्षायामेक एवोपकारः सर्व-करणार्थः कल्प्यते । स चोपकार आत्माश्रय एवोत्पद्यते । न तूत्पत्त्यपूर्वाश्रितः । द्रव्यस्यैव समवायिकारणत्वादिति केचित् ।

अन्ये तु वैशेषिकसमयोऽयं नादरणीयो गुणेऽपि शक्त्यङ्गीकारात् । तस्मादुत्पत्त्यपूर्वाश्रित एवोपकारो जायते न त्वात्माश्रित इति तदर्थग्रहरूपस्यान्यथाश्रितत्वकल्पनायां प्रमाणाभावात् ।

स त्वनेक एव जातिवदनेकाश्रित इति के चित् । संनिपातजन्यं प्रतिकरणं भिद्यते । तत्साहित्यस्यैवोपकारकत्वात् । विकृतौ भेदेनातिदेशो भवति ।

अन्ये तु प्रति करणं भेद एवास्यैकप्रकरणशास्त्रार्थतया त्वेकत्वमुच्यते । संनिपातित्वादुपकार-काभ्यां तु प्रति करणं भिन्ना एवोपकारिशेषा जायन्ते । यथा च प्रकृतिविकृत्योरुपकार-व्यक्तिभेदेऽपि स एवोपकार इत्युच्यते । यथा प्रति करणं भेदेऽप्येक एवोपकार इति ॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायमिश्रश्रीमुरारिकृतौ एकादशाद्याधिकरणं समाप्तमिति ॥

यकत्वादुपपत्तेरुत्पत्तिवाक्य एव प्रतीतानाग्नेयादीनुद्दिश्याधिकारवाक्यमधिकारं विधत्ते । यदा चोद्दिश्यमानस्य न साहित्यं विवक्षितामिति प्रत्येकमेव साधिकारत्वम् । प्रयाजादीनामपि च तदा चाधिकारत्वमेव । उद्देश्यविशेषणस्य दर्शपूर्णमासस्याविवक्षितत्वादिति के चित् ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—अश्रूयमाणाधिकारे विश्वजिदादौ उत्पत्त्यपेक्षयैवाधिकारान्वयः । श्रुताधिकारे च तस्मिन्नेव वाक्ये नियोगावगतिर्न त्वाग्नेयादिप्रयाजादिवाक्ये प्रधानवाक्ये च दर्शपौर्णमास-नामकयागे विषयनियोग इत्येतावन्मात्रं प्रतीयते न तु निर्धार्यते आग्नेयादिविषय इति । ततः संनिहितानामाग्नेयादीनां प्रयाजादीनां च ग्राहकग्रहणम् । ततः कयोर्दर्शपूर्णमासनामकत्वमित्य-पेक्षायां समुदायद्वयानुवादवशादाग्नेयादिषट्कस्यैव संज्ञेत्यवधारिते यज्यर्थे षट्क एवेत्यवधार्यते । तस्माद्यदनध्यवसितं कस्याप्येतन्नाम्नो विषयत्वमिति पूर्वमासीत् तदिदानिमध्यवसीयते । न चैनं षट्कपरत्वे यजेः साहित्यलक्षकत्वमिति वाच्यं, एकाभिधानरूढतयैवाख्यातसाहित्य-सिद्धेः । यत्र तु पदद्वयं यथा धवरवदिराविति तत्र द्विधेति साहित्यलक्षणेव । न चोपपदारूढत्वा-दधिकारवाक्यस्य न भावविधायकत्वं अधिकारस्योपपदार्थस्याविधेयत्वात् न साधिकारं कर्म पुरुषः कृत्या व्याप्नोतीत्युक्तं षष्ठाद्ये । तस्मादधिकारो न विधेय इति कर्म च विधेयम् । विधेयस्य साहित्यं विवक्षितमिति सहितानामधिकारसंबन्धार्थप्रयोगभेद इति प्रयाजादितन्त्रतैव ।

विवरणे तु यथाधिकारवाक्यमेव प्रतियागं रुचयो नियोगाः प्रतीयन्ते । यजिधातोः समुदायानभिधायकत्वात् । ततश्च नियोगभेदादधिकार एव । यदि च मिलितानामेकविषयत्वं करणत्वमप्येकं स्यादविशेषात् । यथा च प्राजापत्यवाक्ये तन्त्रतामिधानपक्षेऽपि सामान्य-नियोगा सप्तदशैव सूत्राणि तथाऽत्रापि नियोगशास्त्रयोः षट्कत्वमेव युक्तम् ।

राद्धान्तस्तु-प्राजापत्यवाक्ये कल्प्यमानानां नियोगानां शब्देनाभिधानं तत्र संभूयकारित्वार्थं सप्तदशैव कल्पयितुं युक्ता । तत्रापि सप्तदशैव तन्त्रेण विधीयन्ते अत एव शब्दबलेनात्रापि शब्दा-दनेकेषां यागानामुपस्थितेः सप्तदशयागविषयक एव नियोगो विधीयते । इह तु वस्तुबलस्य ताद्-शस्याभावात् । विवरणमतेऽपि शब्दबलादेव युगपदुपस्थितिबलादेकमेव । मिलितानां षण्णां विष-यत्वं प्रतीत्यर्थवतो हि विषयत्वम् । यथा प्रतीत्येव युक्तम् । करणत्वं तु सिद्ध्यन्तरत्वम् । सिद्धिश्चावा-न्तरापूर्वद्वारा इति चोत्पत्त्यपूर्वाणि प्रत्याग्नेयादीनि भिद्यन्त इति प्रत्येकमेव करणत्वम् । अत एव प्रत्येकमेवोपकाराकाङ्क्षोपरुतकरणसाध्यत्वान्नियोगस्य किं तु पदार्थानां नियोगेन युगपद्गृही-तत्वात्तेषां नियोगैदमर्थ्यनिर्वाहाकाङ्क्षायां नियोगस्य चोपकाराकाङ्क्षायामेक एवोपकारः सर्व-करणार्थः कल्प्यते । स चोपकार आत्माश्रय एवोत्पद्यते । न तूत्पत्त्यपूर्वाश्रितः । द्रव्यस्यैव समवायिकारणत्वादिति केचित् ।

अन्ये तु वैशेषिकसमयोऽयं नादरणीयो गुणेऽपि शक्त्यङ्गीकारात् । तस्मादुत्पत्त्यपूर्वाश्रित एवोपकारो जायते न त्वात्माश्रित इति तदर्थग्रहरूपस्यान्यथाश्रितत्वकल्पनायां प्रमाणाभावात् ।

स त्वनेक एव जातिवदनेकाश्रित इति के चित् । संनिपातजन्यं प्रतिकरणं भिद्यते । तस्साहित्यस्यैवोपकारकत्वात् । विकृतौ भेदेनातिदेशो भवति ।

अन्ये तु प्रति करणं भेद एवास्यैकप्रकरणशास्त्रार्थतया त्वेकत्वमुच्यते । संनिपातित्वादुपकार-काभ्यां तु प्रति करणं भिन्ना एवोपकारिशेषा जायन्ते । यथा च प्रकृतिविकृत्योरुपकार-व्यक्तिभेदेऽपि स एवोपकार इत्युच्यते । यथा प्रति करणं भेदेऽप्येक एवोपकार इति ॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायमिश्रश्रीमुरारिकृतौ एकादश्याद्याधिकरणं समाप्तमिति ॥

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SAHASRAM-RUPNA'TH-BRAHMAGIRI-MASKI EDICT OF AŚOKA RECONSIDERED.

BY

PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A., Ph. D. (HON.)

In 1912 I had occasion to consider two passages from this Edict. My paper on these will be found in *Ind. Ant.*. 1912, p. 170ff. Upwards of sixteen years have passed since then, and we have at least three scholars who have recently attempted to tackle the knotty passages of this epigraph. It has been treated at length in its various recensions by the late Prof. E. Hultzsch in his monumental work on Inscriptions of Aśoka which forms the new edition of Volume I. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.* A new and thoughtful interpretation of the passages was thereafter proposed by Prof. B. M. Barua in his article entitled *Inscriptional Excursions in respect of Aśoka Edicts* and published in the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1926, p. 87ff. The same article was reprinted with some slight changes and additions under the title *Aśoka Edicts in New Light.* Quite recently Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji has brought out a book on *Aśoka* (Gaekwad Lectures) more than half of which is devoted to setting forth the text and interpretation of the epigraphs of this Buddhist monarch. New points of view have thus been placed before us, and it is therefore time to re-consider this Edict as it throws a flood of light on the early part of the religious history of Aśoka.

The first passage that must arrest our attention is as follows, according to Hultzsch's reading :

Brahmagiri :—*Adhikāni aḍhāṭiyāni vasāni ya hakaṃ (upā)sa*[***ke***] ***no tu kho bāḍhaṃ prakaṃte*** *hu*s*aṃ ekaṃ savacharaṃ* ***sātirekhe tu kho saṃvachare*** *yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayīte* ***bāḍhaṃ ca me pakaṃte.***

Rūpnāth :—*Sāti*[*ra*]*kekāni aḍhati*[*y*]*āni va ya sumi prakāsa* [*Sa*]***ke no chu bāḍhi pakate sātileke cu chavachare*** *ya sumi haka*[*ṃ*] ***Sagha up*[*e*]*te*** *bāḍhi ca pakate.*

Sahasrām :—.....*iyāni savachalāni* | *aṃ upāsake sumi* | *na cu bāḍhaṃ* [*palaka*] *ṃ*[*t*]*e sav*[*a*]*chale ·sādhi*[*ke*] | *aṃ*.....

In order to find out what Hultzsch understands by this passage, it is first desirable to quote his translation of the Brahmagiri version. It is as follows : " More than two years and a half (have passed) since I (am) a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*). But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year. But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṁgha* and have been very zealous " (p. 177). One inference which he draws from it is that upto the time when the edict was issued Aśoka had been a Buddhist layman for more than two years and a half, that for the first year or so he was not zealous, but that during the remaining period exceeding one year, when he visited the Saṁgha, he exerted himself strenuously (Introduction, p. XLV.). In interpreting this early part of Aśoka's religious career he thus differs completely from Senart whose view had so long held the field. His interpretation rests upon two words. " The word *sumi*, ' I am,' " says he, " in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Saṃgha*, but included the second period " (Ibid., Intro. p. XLV.). Secondly, he separates *ekaṃ savacharam* from *sātireke tu kho saṃvachare* and connects the former with what precedes and deduces the conclusion that the one year just specified refers to the first period during which he was lukewarm. This interpretation, though it may look a novel one, seems to be the best in the circumstances.[1] For the association of *sumi* with *upāsake* in no less than three recensions clearly shows that Aśoka had been a lay-worshipper till the time the Edict was issued. The difficulty, however, rises in regard to the words *ekaṃ savacharaṃ*, which are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. It may be contended that these words are so important that they could not

1 This interpretation was proposed by Hultzsch as early as 1910 (JRAS., 1910, p. 142 ff.), just as he was engaged in bringing out his volume on Aśoka. But I could not then go deep into the subject for want of fresh reliable facsimiles. I did not therefore adopt it in my book on Aśoka. Now that Hultzsch's volume is out with the facsimiles, I have no hesitation in accepting his interpretation.

have been omitted from these recensions if Hultzsch's interpretation were correct. This objection, no doubt, appears somewhat formidable. But it has to be remembered that these two recensions are more carelessly drafted or perhaps engraved than the others. Secondly, even if we stick to the older interpretation, it will be seen that it is not free from all difficulty. For in this case *ekaṃ savacharaṃ* has to be tacked on to *sātireke cu kho savachare*, and we are thus forced to admit that the word *cu* does not occupy its proper position. *Cu* is the same thing as *tu* ; and *tu*, we know, is an adversative particle meaning 'but.' Aśoka is here distinguishing between two stages of his religious career, the earlier when he was lukewarm, and the later when he was strenuous, in his efforts. And if the clause describing this second stage had begun with the words *ekaṃ savacharaṃ*, we should have had *ekaṃ cu kho savacharaṃ*, (*na hi*) *sātireke savachare* instead of *ekaṃ savacharaṃ sātireke cu kho savachare*. The translation proposed by Hultzsch therefore seems to be the only possible in the circumstances, and we have to suppose that the first stage of Aśoka's career lasted for one year (*ekaṃ savacharaṃ*) and the second for more than one year (*sātireke savachare*) so as to make up the total of *sātirekāni aḍhatiyāni* (more than two years and a half).

It will be seen from the above that the two and a half years and more referred to in the first clause of the passage did not precede, but, on the contrary, included the single year and more that is specified in the second clause. This follows necessarily from the use of *sumi* in no less than three recensions. And it is not quite clear how this interpretation of Hultzsch did not attract the attention of Professors Barua and Mookerji, as it throws an entirely different light on the religious history of Aśoka. It clearly shows that the Kaliṅga war which took place in the 8th year was in no way connected with his conversion to Buddhism as maintained by Senart or with the ushering in of the second stage of strenuous endeavour as contended by Prof. Mookerji.[1]

1 *Aśoka*, p. 18.

There are, however, two more points in the above passage, which are also worth considering before we proceed to discuss the other passages in the Edict. The first is the reading *prakāsa Sake* by Hultzsch in the Rūpnāth copy, which he takes as equivalent to *prakāśaṃ Śākyaḥ* and translates it by 'openly a Śākya'. The plate of the Rūpnāth Edict, which accompanies his transcript, does not, however, support this reading. The letters in question are distinctly *pākāsavako* which are read by Bühler as *pākūsavake*, which is not impossible. The most important of these is the last but one letter which is clearly *va* and not *sa*. Hultzsch's proposal therefore to take the last two as *sake*=*Śākyaḥ*='Buddhist' is not warranted by the plate. Bühler takes these five letters as standing for *hakā sāvake* = *ahaṃ śrāvakaḥ*. In regard to the first of these letters he thinks that the stroke which was intended to be attached to its right so as to make it *ha* has inadvertently been attached to the top so as to make it *pā*. This is perhaps too ingenious an explanation to be correct. It is more reasonable to suppose that this right stroke has now become worn out and imperceptible. On the whole, however, Bühler's reading is better supported by the Plate, and is thus worthy of acceptance.

Though there is no mention of *Śākya* in the Rūpnāth copy, it seems to be clearly mentioned in the Maski recension, to which also Hultzsch has drawn our attention in this connection. His reading *Budha-Śake* is quite distinct in his Plate and is also supported by the photo published in Memoir No. 1 of the *Hyderabad Archaeol. Series*, where the inscription was first published. It no doubt corresponds to Buddha-Śākya, but its meaning has not been properly explained by Hultzsch. It is true that he has drawn our attention to the use of *Śākya* in the sense of 'Buddhist', not only in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* which is of a later period and therefore not of much importance, but also in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* which is of the Mauryan period and thus of extreme importance. But the question arises: why was the term *Śākya* not used by itself in the Maski Edict; why was the term Buddha tacked on to it? This question should have been tackled by Hultzsch, but he has done nothing of the kind. The explanation that seems to be reasonable is that here *va* after *śa* has been inadvertently omitted and that *Buddha-śavake* is what

was originally intended. If this is not accepted, then we have to suppose that there were two Śākya religions, one founded by Gautama Buddha and the other by his cousin Devadatta. Both belonged to the Śākya clan, and hence the followers of both could be styled Śākyas. The Buddhist scriptures that are known to us at present lead us to infer that Devadatta was not able to found any sect in rivalry to that of Gautama Buddha. But the concurrent testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Yuan Chuang, points to the conclusion that the followers of Devadatta were in existence when both visited India.[1] When therefore, Aśoka calls himself, not simply Śākya but Buddha-Śākya, the natural inference is that he was a follower, not of Devadatta Śākya, but (Gautama) Buddha Śākya.

The second expression in the above passage that we have now to notice here is :

Brahmagiri : *yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayīte*

Rūpnāth : *ya sumi haka*[*ṃ*] *sagh*[*a*] *up*[*e*] *te*

Bairāṭ : *aṃ mamayā saghe* [*u*]*payāte*

Maski : (*su*)[*m*]*i* [*s*]*aṃgha*[*ṃ*] *u*[*pa*]*gate*

The point that we have now to discuss is : what does *saṃghe upayīte* mean ? When the old construction of the passage was adhered to, according to which the first period of two and a half years and more was thought to precede and not include the second period of one year and more, the expression was interpreted in two ways. Senart thought that it referred to the state visit of the king to the Saṁgha, in the midst of which he took his seat and made a public profession of his Buddhist faith, as the Sinhalese chronicle the Mahāvaṁsa, informs us.[2] But this interpretation was vehemently called in question by Kern and Bühler who pointed out that Aśoka was here contrasting the period of his being in the Saṁgha with that of his being an *upāsaka*, and that the Mahāvaṁsa nowhere said that he had ceased to be an *upāsaka* when he paid the visit to the Saṁgha. These two scholars therefore held that what Aśoka meant was that he entered the Saṁgha

1 *Ency. Rel. & Eth.* vol. 4, p. 677.

2 D. R. Bhandarkar's *As'oka*, p. 78 ff.

in the sense that he became a monk. Though the objection they raised to Senart's requiring was a weighty one, their interpretation was by no means free from another objection. This last I have considered in my *Aśoka* (p. 79), where I have suggested the *via media* that the Buddhist king became, not a Bhikṣu, but rather a Bhikṣugatika. But all these suggestions have now been upset by the new interpretation proposed by Hultzsch, and, finding, as we do, the occurrence, in these recensions, of the word *sumi* which can stand only for the Sanskrit *asmi*, it is difficult, well-nigh impossible, to suggest any other interpretation. It is unfortunate that this interpretation of Hultzsch, though it is of such paramount importance for the early religious history of Aśoka has not been so much as considered by either Prof. Barua or Prof. Mookerji. They (especially the former) have unconsciously stuck to Hultzsch's interpretation in part and have also attempted to revive Senart's theory. Like Senart Prof. Barua maintains that Aśoka is here distinguishing between two stages of his life the first stage when he was an Upāsaka, and the second when he was associated with the Saṁgha, without however considering the objection raised long ago by Kern and Bühler to any interpretation of this type. These last have pointed out that in this passage the king clearly gives us to understand that when Aśoka was *saṃgham upayīte* whatever that may mean, he was not an *upāsaka*. Leaving this objection unanswered, Prof. Barua, and, following him, Prof. Mookerji, further express the opinion as done by Hultzsch, that Aśoka is in this inscription distinguishing between two stages of his *upāsaka* life[1]–one, the stage of inaction, lasting for more than two years and a half, in which he was merely the personal admirer of an individual monk, and the other the stage of exertion, extending over more than one year, when he visited the Saṁgha and became identified with its cause. Here they obviously take their stand on what the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa say about the religious career of Aśoka. But as a

1 See, however, *The Religion of As'oka* (Mahā Bodhi Pamphlet Series, No 7) pp. 12–13, where Prof. Barua "the intended contrast in two stages is one between Aśoka the *upāsaka* and Aśoka the *saṁgha-upayita*...", clearly implying that when the king was *saṁgha-upayita*, he was not an *Upāsaka*. The Professor here is certainly more logical.

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matter of fact, nowhere do these Pali Chronicles describe any stage in Aśoka's life as a stage of inaction. For even long before Aśoka paid a state visit to the Saṁgha, we find him bestowing alms on 60,000 bhikṣus in his own palace and building 84,000 *vihāras*. Secondly, it was not during the second stage that he first visited the Saṁgha, as contended by Professors Barua and Mookerji. As a matter of fact, his first visit came off immediately after his conversion by Nigrodha (*Dīpa.*, VI. 78 ; *Mahā.*, V. 76), as was pointed out by Hultzsch himself. In fact, if any scholar reads these Pali Chronicles carefully and impartially, he will find that no two stages of inaction and action in Aśoka's progress in Buddhism have been contrasted and that his career as a Buddhist is one of uniform unflagging exertion. The minor Rock Edict, however does distinguish between these two stages, one a stage of apathy and non-enthusiasm and the other a stage of fervent zeal, the first lasting for one year, the second for more than one year[1], but both in his career as Upāsaka. In such a case *saṃghe upayīte* cannot mean that he joined the Saṁgha, in the sense that he became a monk, but rather that he visited and was with the Saṁgha during the whole of the second stage.

It has now been held by scholars of repute that this Edict pertains to the twelfth year of Aśoka's reign. And if he was already with the Saṁgha for more than one year when it was issued, it seems that he visited the Saṁgha in his tenth regnal year. Now, RE. VIII. informs us that it was precisely this year that his visit to the Bodhi Tree also came off, which marked the first of his religious tours (*Dharma-yātrā*). It thus appears that the strenuous part of his religious career began in the tenth year and was signalised with two events, namely, (1) his visiting the Saṁgha with a view to associate with it, and (2) his undertaking apparently along with its members his first pious tour to the Bodhi Tree, and preaching Dhaṃma to the people, the consequence of which was, as we have seen above, that as soon as a little more than a year had passed, men became so virtuous that they were commingled with gods. It is rather interesting to

1 And not for two years and a half or more as taken by Professors Barua and Mookerji

find that this part of Aśoka's life has been properly reported in the *Divyāvadāna*, according to which he accepted as his spiritual guide Upagupta, who was then the Head of the Saṁgha, and initiated a pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy places under the latter's auspices and accompanied by the Saṁgha. If Aśoka was thus with the Saṁgha for over a year, visiting the holy places and doing the work of a preacher, the question naturally arises: how was his government administered during his absence from the capital ? The reply is probably given by the preamble to the Mysore Copies of his Minor Rock Edicts. Here we are introduced to a government which was entrusted to the care of the Āryaputra and Mahāmātras who issued an order from Suvarṇagiri to Mahāmātra Isila. Where was this government stationed ? Most of the scholars who have written upon this subject hold that Suvarṇagiri was the capital of the southernmost province of the Mauryan empire which was administered by the Āryaputra and Mahāmātras in question and that the order was issued by them to Isila who was Mahāmātra of a division of that province where the find-spots of the recensions were situated. This view is based upon the assumption that as in the Gupta, so in the Mauryan, period, while the officers constituting the provincial government were selected by the sovereign, the officers of the divisions were appointed by the provincial governor himself, so that the sovereign had to address himself to these last officers only through the governor. This does not, however, seem to be the case with the administration of the Mauryan empire. This is clear from the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts found at Dhauli and Jaugaḍā. It is worthy of note that in both Edicts I. and II. Aśoka issues his orders directly to the Mahāmātras of Samāpā, although Samāpā was apparently the head-quarters of a division of the Kaliṅga province and consequently its officers according to the above view were directly subordinate to the Kumāra-Mahāmātra administration of the Province stationed at Tosalī (Dhauli). Nay, even though Tosalī was the capital of the province, while in Edict II. the sovereign sends orders to the Kumāra and Mahāmātras jointly, in Edict I. he addresses himself directly to certain Mahāmātras designated Nagara-vyavahārikas. This shows that the Mauryan government was far more

centralised than the Gupta one and that all Mahāmātras even in remote provinces were directly subordinate to the king. For these reasons it seems that the Āryaputra was the crown-prince who as vice-gerent carried on the administration during the temporary absence of Aśoka from his capital.

The second passage in this Edict that we have now to consider is :—

Brahmagiri : *Iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā Jaṃbudīpasi misā devehi.*

Rūpnāth: *Yā [i]mayā kālāya Jaṃbudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m[i]s[ā]kaṭā.*

Sahasrām : *[Etena ca aṃta]lena ı Jaṃbudīpasi aṃmisaṃ-[de]-vā ı saṃta munisō [m]isaṃ-deva [kaṭā].*

Maski : *Pure Jaṃbu(dipa)s[i ye amisā devā husu] te [dā]-n[i] misibhutā.*

In his article on Aśoka which forms Chapter XX. of the *Cambridge History of India*, (p. 505) Prof. F. W. Thomas takes the above passage to mean as follows :Aśoka claims that in little more than a year he had brought the Brāhman gods to the knowledge of those people in India, i. e., the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them. " In the first place, it is not clear why the term *munisā* is not taken in the natural sense of ' men in general, ' but is restricted to ' the wild tribes. ' Secondly, Dr. Thomas' view is open to the same objection as that of Prof. Mookerji, who suggests three interpretations, of which he rejects one. According to the first of these which he thinks acceptable, the passage means that within the space of one year and more " strife of gods and their worshippers (i. e., of the jarring sects) had largely ceased in the country", that is to say, " the divers religions and the various gods worshipped by different sects " were harmonised. In the second place, it is very doubtful whether Aśoka ever held up Brahmanical or other gods as worthy of worship by any people. In the Mauryan period gods were of two types : (1) those who were invoked in sacrifices and (2) those who were popularly worshipped. That the performance of sacrifice never appealed to him but on

the contrary was prohibited by him, is clear from Rock Edict I. The sacrificial gods could never thus have been recommended by Aśoka for worship. That the popular deities such as presided over the different *maṅgalas* were held by him under ridicule will be patent to anybody who reads Rock Edict IX. The only gods that were looked upon favourably by Aśoka were those who were men in their previous life and who rose to this position by leading a virtuous life on this earth. Surely these are the gods referred to by him in Rock Edict IV. But these are not the gods intended by Prof. Thomas or Mookerji. Hultzsch is, however, tempted in this connection to say that Aśoka is there adverting to those gods who were exhibited *in effigie* before the people in his religious shows.[1] But even Hultzsch's interpretation cannot stand, because what according to Aśoka is associated with men in this case is the gods themselves and not their representations. The association of the effigies of these gods with men at the time of theatricals is of the most mechanical and prosaic kind and is not a thing of which any king can be proud and which Aśoka may claim as the unique outcome of his strenuous endeavour. What therefore can be the meaning of the above passage? What we have to bear in mind is that Aśoka is here describing the fruit of his exertion by two different phrases: (1) the commingling of men and gods and (2) the attainment of *svarga*. The commingling of men and gods must therefore be so explained as to show that it was tantamount to the achievement of heaven. This is possible only when we say that by following Aśoka's Dhaṁma men became so virtuous that they attained to heaven and were associated with gods. In this connection I had elsewhere[2] referred to a passage from the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*, which throws further light on the subject. But as it does not seem to have attracted the attention of scholars, I quote it here in full, with translation. The passage is as follows (II. 7. 16. 1:)

Saha deva-manuṣyā asmil = loke purā babhūvuḥ. Atha devāḥ karmabhir = divaṃ jagmur = ahīyanta manuṣyāḥ. Teṣāṃ ye tathā karmāṇy = ārabhante saha devair = Brahmaṇā c=āmushmiṃl = loke bhavanti.

1 JRAS 1913. pp. 652–3.

2 D. R. Bhandarkar's Aśoka, p. 329, n3.

Translation

Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods through *karmans* went to heaven; men were left behind. Whosoever perform *karmans* of those (gods) in the same manner dwell (after death) with the gods and Brahman in the other world.[1]

Any scholar who reads this passage carefully side by side with that quoted above from the Edict will perceive that Aśoka also must have had the idea that in the days of yore men and gods lived together on earth but that by means of good *karmans* gods attained to heaven and men left where they were on earth. The real problem therefore was : how to bring these men and gods together now. This is possible only by men being induced to perform the *karmans* whereby the gods achieved Heaven. And it is only by leading men in the path of Dhamma and inducing them to perform virtuous courses that they can attain to heaven and become commingled with gods. This is what Aśoka did, with the consequence that men became again associated with gods. And to bridge the abyss created between men and gods was the highest thing capable of being achieved and requiring the most strenuous endeavour. It is therefore quite intelligible why Aśoka says that he had to exert himself most assiduously to realise this end and also why he recounts it with such pride and enthusiasm. There can be no doubt that the passage quoted from the Dharmasūtra sheds welcome light not only on the mind of Aśoka but also on the passage from his Edict. One, however, feels that this cannot be the whole explanation and that one point still remains to be elucidated. Such people as are sure to to be associated with gods according to the Dharmasūtra were expected to do so in the next world after their death. And it is true that even Aśoka implies in Rock Edict VI. that the *svarga* had to be enjoyed in the next world(*paratra*). Nevertheless, it appears from the Minor Rock Edict that men were mixed with gods actually in this world, as if the attainment of Heaven were possible in this mortal life. Have we any evidence to show

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II. p. 140, the translation of which I have adopted with some slight changes.

that gods associated themselves with virtuous men and saints in this world ? If we wanted to find out any instance of this kind, we could hope to trace them in a book like *Thera–Therī–Gāthā*, which sets forth the lives of Buddhist saints. Fortunately we have here two instances of the type just referred to. The first is that of Sunīta, who was earning his living as a road-sweeper, when Buddha saw and took compassion upon him. The exaltation of his soul is described by him thus :

> While passed the middle watch, the heav'nly eye,
> Purview celestial, was clarified.
> While passed the last watch of the night, I burst
> Asunder all the gloom of ignorance. (627)
> Then as the night wore down at dawn
> And rose the sun, came Indra and Brahmā,
> Yielding me homage with their clasped hands : (628)
> The Master, seeing me by troop of gods
> Begirt and followed, thereupon a smile
> Revealing, by this utterance made response [1] (630)

The same thing has been described in V. 631 of the *Therī-Gāthā as follows* :

> Those deities seven hundred, glorious,
> Brahmā's and Indra's following drew nigh
> And gladly paid Sunīta homage due,
> As high-bred victor over age and death.

The Venerable Sāriputta, we find, was similarly hailed, when he attained to spiritual elevation.

> See how they stand, those thronging deities
> Of mystic potency and glorious,
> Ten times a thousand, all of Brahmā's heaven, (1082
> Around our valiant Captain of the Norm,
> Great son of Sārī, calm and rapt in thought,
> Acclaiming him with clasped hands upraised : [2] (1083

1 *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 273-4.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 366–7.

We have thus at least two instances of Buddhist saints being worshipped by deities as soon as their spiritual exaltation was completed. In both cases homage is done to them by gods headed by Brahmā. And curiously enough the passage from the *Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra* also says that a man who leads a virtuous life comes to dwell among the gods and Brahmā. But according to this Dharmasūtra he can do so after his death. The quotations made from the *Thera-Gāthā* seem to show that this contingency is possible in this world also. And knowing, as we do, how, long before the modern sceptical age was ushered in by the development of science, people believed that denizens of worlds other than their own could visit them, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in Aśoka's time, those of the men from Jambudvīpa who followed Dhaṁma and led a pure noble life came soon to be looked upon as saintly souls and that either they believed themselves or people believed them, to be 'begirt and followed' by Brahmā and his gods. Such was by no means considered to be a rare occurrence in ancient times.

The third passage we have to discuss is the one connected with the passage we have just considered. It runs thus :

Brahmagiri :–*No hīyam sakye mahātpeneva pāpotave kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi paka*[*mamī*]*ṇeṇa vipule svage sakye ārādhetave.*

Rūpnātha :–*Na ca esā mahatatā p*[*ā*]*potave* । *khudakena pi pa*-[*ka*]*mam*[*i*]*nenā sakiye pi*(*vi*)*pule pā*(*vā*)*svage ārodheve.*

Sahasrām :–[*n*]*o* [*yaṃ*] *mahatatā va cakiye pā* [*va*] *t* [*a*]-*ve* । *khudakena pi palakamamīnenā vipule pi s*[*u*] *ag*(*e*) (*cha*) [*k*]-*iye* [*ālā*] [*ve*].

The Brahmagiri is thus translated by Hultzsch : "For this cannot be reached by (a person] of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous." Prof. Mookerji's rendering is as follows : "But this cannot be attained by the great alone. For the small, too, can attain to a wide heaven of bliss by sustained exertion." Both these scholars take this passage to refer to the people in general and think that it exhorts them to lead a higher life and so attain heaven.

Let us now try to arrive at the import of the passage. In the first place, wherever Aśoka uses the word *parākrama*, he uses it in the sense of exertion not for his individual self, but for promoting the good of others. Thus in RE. VI. he says : *ya ca kiṃci parākramāmi ahaṃ* (:) *kiṃti* (?) *bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇyaṃ gacheyaṃ idha ca nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā ca svagaṃ ārādhayamtuc(i*). = "And what little effort I make, – what is it for ? (in order that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world." This shows that he is directing his *parākrama* for the temporal and spiritual weal of the creatures, and not for any self-exaltation. The word *parākrama* occurs at the end of the same edict. There Aśoka tells us that one of his objects in inscribing it is that his descendants should follow him in his mission for the welfare of the whole world. But says he : *dukaraṃ tu idaṃ añatra agena parākramena*, " This, however, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion.." Here also he recommends *parākrama* to his descendants, not for any individual elevation of their own, but in order that they may accomplish the good of others. Again, we have seen that even in MRE. I. the word *parākrama* is first used in the first passage quoted above and that there it has been taken by all scholars as denoting 'exertion' put forth by Aśoka, not for his individual good but for the welfare of others. And there is no reason why the same word occurring in the same edict just a little while after, that is, in the third passage, should be taken in a subjective and not objective sense. The only logical course in the circumstances is to suppose that the Mahātman(=Udāra) and Kṣudraka, whosoever they may be, are expected to put forth this *parākrama*, not for their own self but for the sake of others. Similarly, in Rock Edict X. Aśoka says : *yaṃ tu kiṃci parākamate devānaṃ(-priyo) Priyadasi rājā ta savaṃ pāratrikāya* (;) *kiṃti* (?) *sakale apaparisrave asa* (.) *Esa tu parīsrave ya apuṇñaṃ* (.), "Whatever exertion king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, puts forth is (all) with reference to the other world,–why is it ?-in order that every one may be free from *parisrava*. But that is *parisrava* which is *apuṇya* (unrighteousness)." It will thus be seen that the *apaparisravatva* of this edict is equivalent to the *svargasya ārā-*

dhanā of RE. VI., and that the *parākrama* is in both cases put forth to achieve this result. Immediately after the passage just quoted, RE. X. proceeds as follows: *dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ chudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parākrameṇa savaṃ parichajitpā*. This passage unfortunately has not been properly translated. Here the most important words are (1) *parākrama* and (*jana*). We know that the former word has been used by Aśoka with reference not to his own spiritual elevation but to that of men. Even when he recommends *parākrama* to his descendants as we have seen from RE. VII., he has in view the good of others, the temporal and spiritual weal of the people. When he therefore recommends *parākrama* in RE. X., it cannot be to *jana* (= *vaga*) or people in general for their own spiritual development, but rather to *jana* (= *vaga*) who were his Officials with a view to promote the welfare of the people. This conclusion will force itself upon any scholar who notices that the phraseology *dukaraṃ [t]u idaṃ añatra agena parākrameṇa* of RE. VI. used by Aśoka in regard to his descendants is exactly like *dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ* (*chudakena va janena usaṭena va*) *añatra agena parākramena* of RE. X. The *Chudraka* and *Usaṭa-jana* of this last record must therefore denote not people in general–, but the subordinate and superior officials of Aśoka. Further, it is worthy of note that for *janena* of G., K. S. & M., give the reading *vagena*. This equation of *jana* with *vaga* we find repeated also in Separate Kaliṅga Edict I. (Dhauli, l. 8, and Jaugada, l. 4). And further the Dhauli recension of the same edict uses the word *vaga* also in l. 23, where the term cannot but denote 'the Officials'. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to *jana* and *vaga* of the various copies of RE. X. signifying the various 'classes' of officials. And the passage quoted from this edict may therefore be translated as follows: "This, however, is difficult to accomplish whether by the lower or the higher class (of officials) except by the utmost exertion, after renouncing all (other duties)".

The passages cited from RE. X. bear a close resemblance to those quoted above from MRE. I. In this last record also there are (1) *svargasya ārādhanā* and (2) advice to the *maḥātmaṇs*

(=udāras) and *kṣudrakas* to put forth *parākrama*, The phrase *svargasya ārādhana* occurs in RE. VI. and is paraphrased as *apaparisravatva* in RE. X. To achieve this object *parākrama* is recommended by Aśoka, in RE. VI., to his descendants, and in RE. X., to the *Kṣudraka* and *Utsṛṣṭa* (*=Ucchrita*) classes of officials. It is therefore, perfectly reasonable to hold that as in RE. X., so in MRE. I., Aśoka is exhorting his *Mahātman* (=higher) and *Kṣudraka* (=lower) officials to put forth strenuous exertions to help the people to attain to heavenly bliss. The passage may therefore be translated as follows : "This is possible not only for the superior (officials) to achieve, but, indeed, it is possible for a subordinate one also, if he exerts himself, to cause people to attain much heavenly bliss."

An alternative interpretation has been proposed by Prof. Mookerji for the above three passages together. We will allow him to speak for himself. 'It would appear from the context that Aśoka says in effect : 'By a little more than a year's exertion, lo ! I have made such progress (*bāḍhaṃ ca me pakaṃte...pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale)* : it is indeed the men in Jambudvīpa (the best country, according to the sacred texts, for spiritual life) who could thus have 'commerce with gods' in such a short time. But let it not be understood that such progress is only for the great like me. 'It is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven'. Great or small, all must exert for themselves. Then alone will the Pilgrim's Progress (*prakrama*) lead to the Promised Land (*vipula svarga*)". It must be confessed that this interpretation of his is more logical than his first one which we have already considered, because in the two clauses in which *parākrama* occurs it has been used in one and the same sense. Where Aśoka says *bāḍhaṃ ca me pakaṃtɜ*, the word is taken by scholars in its objective sense, that is, this *prakrama* or *parākrama* is with reference to the good of others. But in the second clause which contains *Khudakena pi palakamamīnena*, the same word is taken in its subjective sense, that is, this *parākrama* is in regard to the good of one's own self. This inconsistency is no doubt warded off by Prof. Mookerji's second interpretation, but it cannot commend itself to us for a variety of reasons. We will not here note how his quotation of Christ's

words is out of place. What again becomes of the commingling of men with gods? There is here only one man who is associated with gods, namely, Aśoka himself. We should naturally presume that many more were intended here, as the word *munisā* is used. Besides, to make Aśoka say that he was the only man that became a compeer of gods and attained heavenly bliss is to paint him as a brazen-faced megalo-maniac. Thirdly, the word *parākrama* has been taken here in a subjective sense which we nowhere find to be the case in the Aśoka inscriptions. These are some of the reasons for which this second interpretation of Prof. Mookerji cannot be accepted.

The fourth passage in Minor Rock Edict I., that must now engage our attention, is :

Brahmagiri : *Iyaṁ ca sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena* 200 50 6.

Rūpnāth : *Vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe* 200 50 6 *sata-vivāsā t [i]*.

Sahasrām : *Iyaṃ ca savane [v]ivuthena duve sapaṃnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti* 256.

Hultzsch, following Prof. F. W. Thomas, translates the Sahasrām passage as follows : "And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour. Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,-(in figures) 256". He also gives the following note : "The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15, 520) who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannā* is a recognised Prakrit form of *pañcāśat*, and that expressions like *dve ṣaṭpañcāśe rātri-śate* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well.[1]" I do not quite understand how the discovery of the word *lāti* and connecting it with the number 256 are considered to be of such paramount importance. For my own part, I do not consider any thing more curious and grotesque. This will be evident from the manner in which the passage from Brahmagiri has been translated. It has been rendered by Hultzsch as follows : "And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour. 256 (nights have

1 *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* Vol I., p. 171 & n,3.

thus been spent on tour).'' The original passage, as we have just seen, is *Iyaṃ ca sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena 200 50 6.* It, is split up into two sentences, the second of which be it noted, *consists of the single figure* '256' !!! Naturally therefore this sentence which consists of only '256' has to be rendered by supplying many words as follows : "256 (nights have thus been spent on tour)". The words put into the rectangular brackets represent the words so supplied by Hultzsch. Surely absurdity cannot further go.

Again, Hultzsch says that the terms *vivutha, vyutha, vivāsa* and *vivaseti* of these recensions have along with *vivāsayati* of the Sārnāth Edict to be traced to the same root, which means 'cause to leave home, cause to start on tour, despatch (messengers)'. "Consequently the substantive *vivāsa*" (in Rūpnāth), says he, "seems to mean staying away from home, remaining on tour[1]". See, however, how he has translated the line in Rūpnāth Edict. This has been split up into two parts, one containing *vy[u]-ṭhena sāvaṇe kaṭe* and the other *200 50 6 satavivāsā t[i].* The first has been translated by him as follows : "(This) proclamation was issued by [me] on tour." 'By (me) on tour' is the rendering of *vyaṭha* and is taken to refer to Aśoka. This is perfectly consistent, but the second part has been translated as "256 (nights) (had then been) spent on tour'' "(Nights had then been) spent on tour" seems to be the rendering of the single word *vivāsā.* It should have been translated : "(There were) 256 'stayings away from home, remainings on tour' ", if Hultzsch had been self-consistent and stuck to the meaning of *vivāsa* which he himself had fixed upon. But he had somehow to thrust in the *lāti* which was in his imagination. Again, one fails to see why he has slurred over the word *sata.*

It seems that Hultzsch changed his view in regard to the meaning of *vyuṣṭa*, just as his volume was coming out from the press. For to this volume has been appended a 'Corrigenda' page, in which he says that he now takes that past participle in the sense of "having spent the night (in prayer)", "as e. g. in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, IV. 5. 30.'' Whether the term is taken to signify

1 *Ibid.*, Intro., p. XLVf.

'on tour' or 'having spent the night (in prayer)', the criticism levelled above against this curious mode of splitting and translating a sentence and unconsciously taking *vyuṣṭa* in slightly different senses holds good in this case also. Here we have to consider only that passage from the *Dharmasūtra* on which Hultzsch so implicitly relies. It runs thus:

Atha cet=tvarate kartuṃ divase mārut-āśanaḥ।
rātrau jale sthito vyushṭaḥ Prājāpatyena tat=samaṃ॥

It has been translated by Bühler as follows: "Now if one is in haste to finish, one may live on air during a day, and pass the night standing in water, that is equal (in efficacy) to a Prājāpatya (Kṛcchra)". I am afraid Bühler has wrongly translated the third quarter of this verse. The word here is *vyuṣṭaḥ* and not *vyuṣṭavān* or *vivāsayan* so that we cannot render it by '(may) pass the night standing in water.' Besides, if *vyuṣṭa* had really been connected with and had governed *rātri*, we should have had not, *rātrau* but *rātriṃ*. The whole verse may therefore be translated as follows: "But if one is in haste to finish, one, departing from home (*vyuṣṭa*), may live on air during day and stand in water during night &c. &c." *Nānārthārṇava-saṃkṣepa* says that *vyuṣṭa* has three senses, namely, those of (1) *prabhāta* 'dawn' (2) *vivāsa* and (3) *vyuṣita*, 'caused to leave home', 'departed from home'. Of these the last holds good in the case of the stanza quoted from the *Baudhāyana-Dharma-sūtra*. Even supposing that Bühler's translation is correct, we may take *vyuṣṭa* in the sense of 'passed (time)', or 'spent (time)'. But how the word can mean 'pass the night (in prayer)' as supposed by Hultzsch is far from clear.

In a footnote to his translation of the Sahasrām rock inscription, Hultzsch says that Dr. Thomas "compares the word *vivutha* (corresponding to *vivāsa* at Rūpnāth) with *vyuṣṭaṃ*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom." We wish he had availed himself of this suggestion and worked upon it in detail. Prof. B. M. Barua has done so, but, unfortunately, half-heartedly, because he wavers between *vyuṣṭa, vyuṣṭi and vyuṣa* of the Vedic literature and *vyuṣṭa* of the *Kauṭilīya*. Thus when swayed over by the first sense, he says thus in regard to the Rūpnāth passage: "Two hundred and fifty-six

longer dawns,' which is to say, 'two hundred and fifty-six years reckoned from the summer solstice when the day is longer than the night, Aśokan *vivāsa* being equated with Vedic *vyuṣa*'".[1] When, however, he leans over to the second sense, he interprets it thus: 'In making the inscribed matter public, please see that it is attended with the date 256 (in term of the current Buddhaera)."[2] What words in the edict are translated by Prof. Barua "in making the inscribed matter public" is not quite clear. Besides, he does not even so much as attempt to say whether *vyuṭha* (and its other forms), *vivāsa*, and *vivāseti* of the Rūpnātha and cognate edicts and also *vivāsayati* of the Sārnāth Inscription are to be traced to one or two different roots and have one or two different senses as Hultzsch and other scholars of repute have done.

It has been stated above that according to the *Nānārthārṇava-saṃkṣepa*, *vyuṣṭa* has three senses: (1) *prabhāta* (2) *vivāsa*, and (3) *vyuṣita*. If *vyuṣita* means '(one) departed from home' and *prabhāta* 'dawn, 'vivāsa cannot signify 'causing to shine' or 'dawning,' but rather 'passing' or 'elapsing' (of time). This suits very well the sentences quoted by Kielhorn on *Jour. R. A. Soc*, 1904, p. 364, namely *namassamāno vivasemi rattiṃ*, 'I pass every night in worship and *ārātri-vivāsam = ācaṣṭe*, 'he tells stories till the night passes away'. We may add to this the quotation given by Bühler from *Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1893, p. 301), namely, *jananād daśarātre vyuṣṭe śatarātre saṃvatsare vā nāmadheyaṃ*, 'when a period of ten nights, a period of one hundred nights, or a year, has elapsed, the name-giving (takes place.)' There cannot thus be any shadow of a doubt as to *vyuṣṭa or vivāsa* being used in the sense of 'passing' or 'elapsing' (of time). To this may be added the following from the *Kauṭilīya*, *rājavar ṣaṃ māsaḥ pakṣo divasaś ca vyuṣṭam* '(the specification of) the royal year, month, fortnight and day (is known as) *vyuṣṭa*.' It is thus clear that *vyuṣṭa* indicates also the Office mode of reckoning time, though it generally signifies 'the passing way' or elapisng' (of time). This fits excellently the last

1 *As'oka Edicts in New Light*, p. 72.

2 *Ibid*, p, 75.

passage quoted from the Brahmagiri, Rūpnāth and Sahasrām versions of Minor Rock Edict I. The Brahmagiri recension may therefore be translated as follows : " And this proclamation was caused to be proclaimed when there had elapsed 256 (years). " The Sahasrām passage may be rendered thus :—" And this proclamation (was made) when there had elapsed 256 (years), that is, two hundred (years) increased by fifty-six had elapsed. " The Rūpnāth version seems to present some slight difficulty, but we may safely translate it thus : " The proclamation was made when there had elapsed 256 (years) by the passing way of centuries (*śata-vivāsāt.*) " The only phrase that causes here some difficulty is *śata-vivāsā*. It may be asked why the word *śata* alone is here used, without specifying how many *śatas* they were and also how many more years had elapsed. But surely the science of epigraphy can produce a few instances of this kind. Thus a Ghaṭiyālā inscription[1] has the following date : *saṃvat śate 918 Caitra-sudi 2*. *Saṃvat* here is equivalent to *saṃvatsara*, as is clear from another instance[2] of this kind which may also be quoted in this connection, namely *saṃvatsara-śate 872 Caitrasya sita-pakṣasya pañcamyāṃ*. In both these instances we find *śata* along with a date in figures, but no words are given to show how many of these *śatas* and again how many years in addition had passed so as to make the date in words whole and entire. I am not able to give any explanation that is of a satisfactory character. But the instances of dates which I have just quoted from inscriptions are enough to show that sometimes in expressing a date in words the term *śata* alone is used and that this practice continued to be in vogue uptill the mediaeval period.

It will thus be seen that the figure 256 denotes a year and that this interpretation agrees substantially with that proposed by Bühler[3] and originally held by Fleet.[4] Both these scholars maintain that this figure denotes the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha. We know from the Pali Chronicles

1 *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX. pp 280-1, No. 11, ll. 9-10.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 199.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III. p. 138.

4 *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 811 ff. Later on he changed this view *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 1091ff.

that Aśoka was crowned 218 years after this event and reigned for 37 years. That brings us down to the year 255, completed. Minor Rock Edict I. thus according to Bühler and Fleet was framed one year later, probably in the year in which Aśoka abdicated the throne and became a monk. This line of reasoning cannot be upheld in the present state of our knowledge, because there is nothing to show in this or any other edict that Aśoka ever became a monk. The idea of his having turned a mendicant was based upon a passage, as we have seen above, which was for long misunderstood by scholars but whose correct interpretation Hultzsch was the first to point out. The view that Aśoka abdicated the throne and became a monk has therefore nothing to stand upon. Secondly, as shown above, the inscription refers apparently to the twelfth year of his reign when after a year and more of strenuous propaganda work, Aśoka gives a glowing account of the results achieved by him. There is particularly a consensus of opinion on this point among scholars. Now, we know from various sources that Aśoka was crowned king about 264 B. C.[1]., so that the twelfth year of his reign must correspond to circa 252 B. C. And if we now add to this the figure 256 the date of Minor Rock Edict I., we obtain B. C. 508 approximately as the date of some great event from which Aśoka has counted the years of his date. What was this great event ? As Aśoka was a Buddhist, it is natural to suppose that it was some event connected with Buddha. Was it the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha ? Unfortunately there is no agreement in regard to its date among the Buddhists, southern or northern. Thus "the chronology current in Ceylon, Burma, Siam" says Prof. Geiger[2], "starts out from the middle of the year 544 B. C., as the date of the Nirvāṇa". Nevertheless, " indications are to be found that in earlier times and indeed down to the beginning of the eleventh century, an era persisted even in Ceylon which was reckoned from 483 B. C., as the year of the Buddha's death',[3]. This discrepancy is more glaring among northern Buddhists. In the seventh century when the Chinese pilgrim, Yuang Chuang visited India, the

1 *Mahāvaṁsa* (P. T. S.) translated by Geiger, Intro. p. XLVI.

2 *Ibid.* p. XXV.

3 *Ibid.* p. XXVIII.

Buddhist schools placed the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha in various years such as 250, 350, 550, 650 and 850 B. C.[1] One inscription has been found at Gayā with the year 1813 after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa and referring itself to the reign of Aśoka-valla, from which F. Kielhorn[2] has calculated that its initial year fell in 638 B. C. It will be seen that none of the epochs specified above comes sufficiently close to 508 B. C. which according to our calculation is approximately the date of Minor Rock Edict I. Let us therefore see whether this date can be connected with any other event in Buddha's life. Bishop Bigandet in his *Life and Legend of Gaudama*[3] from the Burmese sources, records the following dates in an era commenced by "Añjana, king of Dewaha".

1. Great Renunciation, in 97 A. E. (Añjana Era)
2. Attainment of Buddhahood, 103 A. E.
3. Nirvāṇa 127 A. E.
4. Parinirvāṇa (Death) 148 A. E.

It will be seen that the year intervals between events 1 and 2 and between 2 and 4 are exactly the same as those recorded in the Pali chronicles of Ceylon. So far, so good. The only new thing here introduced is the mention of Buddha's Nirvāṇa which is distinguished not only from his Parinirvāṇa or Death but also from his Attainment of Buddhahood. Now this Nirvāṇa is placed 21 years prior to his Parinirvāṇa. Prof. Geiger has adduced some cogent reasons to show that this latter event almost certainly took place in 483 B. C. Buddha's Nirvāṇa has thus to he pushed 21 years back and assigned to 504 B. C. This year, namely, 504 B. C., comes to close to 508 which we have calculated to be the date of Minor Rock Edict on independent grounds that it is well-nigh impossible to resist the temptation to say that Aśoka has dated this edict from the Nirvāṇa (not Parinirvāṇa) of Buddha which took place Circa 508 B. C.

1 *Book of Indian Eras* by Cunningham, p. 34.

2 *List of Northern Inscriptions* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V., Appendix, p. 79, No. 575).

3 Vol. II. pp. 71-3.

THE KṚṢṆA PROBLEM

BY

S. N. TADAPATRIKAR, M. A.

I-INTRODUCTORY

1. Vāsudeva has been, ever since the 3rd or 4th century B. C. or even before the advent of Buddhism, worshipped by a great number of Indians, who called themselves Bhāgavatas, devotees of Bhagavat, the supreme Godhead. They took Vāsudeva to be the creator of the worlds and beings, the disposer of destinies, and had identified him with Kṛṣṇa,—in fact, believed that Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa, the preacher of the message of Bhagavadgītā, was this same Vāsudeva, the Yādava hero, who had come down as an incarnation of the Great God Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, and it was with this complete identification at heart, that a great literature of the Bhāgavatas was composed in the mediæval period. The sentiment of devotion, once rooted, spread in all its branches over the whole of India, and Rāmānuja and Madhva in the South, Rāmānanda, Mirābāi, Kabir, Vallabha, and the saints in Mathurā in the North, and Caitanya in the East, all contributed to bhagavatise the whole of India till the 16th century, when the Maratha saints took up the flag, and calling Viṭṭhala, the Kṛṣṇa of the Kali age, took the message of devotion to the most illiterate masses. Curiously enough, the Bhāgavata religion had among its followers, some foreign converts too, and the eagle pillar erected by Holiodorus[1] at Besnagar in the 2nd century B. C., and Mahomedans[2] becoming Bhāgavata saints in the 16th century and onwards, are instances to quote.

As was natural, the original tenets of the Bhāgavata religion were, during the course of time, mixed up with other principles, and ultimately the principles of utmost devotion only remained

1 R. G. B. Works, vol. IV, p. 14.

2 Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata, pp. 198-200 Shaikh Mahamad ; p. 519 Shaikh Sultan p. 522, Shaha Muni.

common to all the followers. The philosophies of Rāmānuja, and Madhva, the different forms of worship among the different sub-sects of the Bhāgavatas, all go to prove this ; so that even among the followers of Śaṁkara, the great Advaita preacher, there are many who call themselves Bhāgavatas, professing that, devotion to the God, is not discordant with extreme monism, and it is of interest to note that regular efforts have been made to prove that it is so. It is not within the province of the present thesis to go into any details thereof, the foregoing being meant only to serve as a general trace of the spread of the Bhāgavata religion.

2. Although there were among these millions, scholars of great intellect, who wrote many learned works on this religion, none ever had the slightest doubt about the identification of Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and Viṣṇu, and it was only during the last century, when the critical analysis of the Western scholars put the whole material to test, that doubts were raised as to whether all these were from the first identical, or any stages could be traced out to show the development of the Bhāgavata ideas about their Supreme God ; and though many have collected and classified material to draw conclusions from, still no satisfactory solution has been arrived at, and the Kṛṣṇa problem stands at the present day, as uncertain, as it did at the beginning of the investigation.

To give an idea of the work done in this line, the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[1] in his Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, gave an outline[2] of his theory which placed two alternatives before the world : (i) that the Sātvata prince Kṛṣṇa himself founded the system, or (ii) that he was deified after his death, and a system developed round him. Prof. Jacobi in his learned article[3] on ' Incarnation (Indian),' rejects the first alternative as a " scarcely tenable " one, and endorses the second with certain modifications. His arguments and conclusion can be summarised as follows :—

1 Quoted by Jacobi, E, R. E. vol. 7 p. 196, and now published in R. G. B. Works, vol. II, pp. 58-291.

2 Op. cit. p. 193.

3 E. R. E, vol. 7 pp. 193-197.

"When Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu became the supreme deity, the Creator and Lord of the world, he stepped into the place of Prajāpati, the Creator of the period of the Brāhmaṇas, who ascribe to Prajāpati, the Kūrma and Varāha incarnations, and represent him as taking one form or other for some special purpose, and the deeds of Prajāpati were transferred to Nārāyaṇa.

"The wide-spread worship of Kṛṣṇa, as a tribal hero and demi-god and his subsequent identification with Nārāyaṇa, the supreme Lord of creation in that period, gave birth to the theory of incarnation, not as a philosophical speculation of learned mythologists and theologists, but as the great principle pervading and upholding a popular religion. Kṛṣṇaism, in this sense, prevailed in India probably centuries before the beginning of our era. Compare: Chāndogya Upaniṣad, III. XVII. 6, where Ghora Āṅgirasa imparted a particular piece of secret knowledge to Kṛṣṇa, *the son of Devakī*. Here Kṛṣṇa is still regarded as a man and not a god.

"When the Vedic period drew towards the end, Vāsudeva was considered an equal of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu,– compare, Tait. Āraṇ. X. i. 6, where Vāsudeva is mentioned as a god, together with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, apparently as mystically identical. Pāṇini regards, (IV. iii. 98) Vāsudeva as a person of the highest rank, probably a god; but Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī was still regarded, in the Vedic period, as a wise man inquiring into the highest truth, and only at some *later time* was he put on an equality with Viṣṇu. Vāsudeva, the god, and Kṛṣṇa, the sage, were ***originally*** different from one another and only afterwards became, by a syncretism of beliefs, one deity, thus giving rise to, or bringing to perfection, a theory of incarnation.

"Vāsudeva is called Vāsubhadra (Bhāsa, Dūtavākya V. 6): compare this with Māṇibhadra, who is spelt Māṇi° in Jainaprakrita; compare also Balabhadra, his brother's name: so Vāsudeva derived from 'Vāsu°' seems to be the original name. If this etymology is right, we must assume that the story of his being the son of a Knight Vasudeva is not true, and the name of his father seems to have been developed from his very name Vāsudeva. In support of this, oldest tradition does not mention Kṛṣṇa's father, but mother, calling him son of Devakī.

" The Mahābhārata and Purāṇas reveal Kṛṣṇa to us as a *man*, certainly not eminently good, but a crafty chief who is not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends. Visnu P. IV. 13 undertakes vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa; Jains assuming nine Vasu°, Vāsu°, Bala°, and Prativāsu°, presuppose the worship of Kṛṣṇa as a very popular religion of India, and hence the *Christian influence* assumed by Weber is excluded by *chronological considerations.*"

R. G. Bhandarkar has dealt with this problem with details in his "Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism etc.":

P. 3–Vāsudeva worship mentioned with others in the Buddhist cannon Niddesa of the 4th century B. C. P. 4.—Inscription at Ghosundi, 200 years B. C. mentions the construction of a wall round the hall of worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. P. 5–Patañjali, on the Pāṇini sūtra, saying that Vāsudeva is not a Kṣattriya of the name, but the worshipful one. Pp. 6.-11–The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata XII, summarised with the concluding remark :–" It thus appears that a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape, when Vāsudeva related the Gītā to Arjuna and led to the formation of an independent sect, where his brother, son, and grandson, were associated with him, as his forms,.....the sect became conterminus with the Sātvatās" P. 13 –The conception of Vasudeva as father must have arisen afterwards, as appears from the example Vāsudeva in the Mahābhāṣya, in the sense of Vāsu°, not Vasu°...Vāsudeva was identified with the Vedic sage Kṛṣṇa, and a geneology given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race, through Śūra and Vasudeva. P. 49–In the Mahābhārata times, the gradual extension of the religion of Sātvatas, is shadowed forth, in some passages questioning the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, while, in Purāṇic times, the three streams of religious thought : (1) from Viṣṇu, the Vedic God, (2) from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic God, and (3) from Vāsudeva, the historical lord, mingled together to form the later Vaiṣṇavism. P. 50–When HV, VyP, and BhP., were written, the legend about the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, must have already been current, and his identification with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, been effected.....story of Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva being brought up in a cow-settlement, is *incongruous* with his

later career, as depicted in the Mahābhārata ; nor does any part of Mahābhārata require the presupposition of such a boyhood. PP. 52-54–The Ābhīras of about the 1st century A. D., a nomadic tribe of cowherds, probably brought with them the worship of the boygod, his humble birth, etc. ; they possibly brought the name of Christ also, which led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The story of Buddhist Ghaṭajātaka contains reference to Nanda etc., but this Jātaka seems to be of post-christian times. "

Prof, Winternitz in his " History of Indian literature" (vol. I) has, at p. 456 :—

" As regards Kṛṣṇa, described in several places in the Mahābhārata, he is repeatedly scorned by hostile heroes as ' cowherd ' and ' slave. ' Even behind the legends of Harivaṁśa, there seems to be a foundation of older legends in which Kṛṣṇa was not yet a god, but the hero of a rough tribe of cowherds. It is difficult to believe that Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of Pāṇḍavas, the herald of the doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā, the youthful hero and demon-slayer, the favourite and lover of cowherdesses, and finally Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of god Viṣṇu was *one and the same person.* It is far more likely that there were two or several traditional Kṛṣṇas, who were merged into one deity at a later time. It is possible that Kṛṣṇa was the founder of the Bhāgavata religion, and was ultimately made into an incarnation. It is possible that Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original epic, and was introduced only later, perhaps to justify the actions of Pāṇḍavas : much as has been written on the problem of Kṛṣṇa, we must admit, no satisfactory solution has been found. In any case, it is a far cry, from Kṛṣṇa, friend of Pāṇḍavas, to the Kṛṣṇa of Harivaṁśa, and the exalted God Viṣnu. "

3. These scholars and others following these, have laid great stress on the fact of one person having many names, and starting with the idea that one person should have one name only, have analysed the Kṛṣṇa story under so many names attached to so many incidents, taking that each originally concerned one person only, and all were subsequently mixed up to form the great mass

of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The three striking features of this Kṛṣṇa, as at present found mixed up, and separated by the scholars are : (1) Kṛṣṇa as the preacher of the religion of the Bhagavadgītā, (2) Prince Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas "not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends" (Jacobi, above), and (3) Kṛṣṇa, who grew among cowherds, killed Kaṁsa, and established himself and his kin in Dvārakā, a place which belongs to prince Kṛṣṇa in (2), also.

As the Mahābhārata and the Pūrāṇas are mainly responsible for these accounts of Kṛṣṇa, other literature only incidentally and that too comparatively very rarely, it is proposed, here, to collect and compare the material bearing thereon, as presented in the Mahābhārata and the Pūrāṇas. That some convincing conclusion will be the fruit of these efforts, would, it is feared, be too much to expect, but even if this is sufficient to give a clear view of the whole material, it will have served its purpose. The material itself is vast, and following is, in brief, a statement of the Kṛṣṇa story, with its extent and context, as found in the different Pūrāṇas and the Mahābhārata.

THE PURĀṆAS.

1. Brahma Purāṇa (BP)-Adhs. 179-212 : Vyāsa, having related the importance of Bhāratavarṣa, and Puruṣakṣetra, is asked by the Ṛṣis to relate about the birth of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa on this earth. The introductory stanzas at adhy. 180, are in the fashion of those of Mahābhārata at 1. 1. Real story begins from adhyāya 181. (Ānandāśrama edition).

2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa (VP)-Aṁśa 5, adhs. 1–38 : Maitreya, having heard the genealogy of other kings, asks Parāśara, to tell him about the Aṁśāvatāra of Viṣṇu, of the Yadu family. The text of BP and VP agrees, according to Wilson, "exactly" but a comparision of the two, shows some additional matter in the VP, which is shown under the respective headings below (edition printed at the Vṛttadīpa Press, by Visvanatha Bhaskara Bhagavata; text with commentary Vaiṣṇavākūta candrikā by Śrī Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya).

3. Padma Purāṇa (PP)-Uttarakhaṇḍa, adhs. 272-379: Rudra, having told the Rāmacarita to his consort Pârvatī, now goes on to relate the life of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. (Ānandāśrama edition 1894).

Hari Vaṁśa (HV) -Adhs. 51-190 : God Viṣṇu is awakened by the gods, from his long sleep, and according to the talk afterwards, when Pāṇḍavas, Kauravas etc., are born, Nārada went to the courts of gods, and there, relating the misdeeds of Kāṁsa and others, requested Viṣṇu to come down, to the earth, to remove her burden. Viṣṇu consults Brahmā as to where he should be born, when Brahmā tell about Vasudeva etc., etc.,(Calcutta edition).

5. Brhma Vaivarta Purāṇa (BVP)-The whole of the part called 'Śri Kṛṣṇajanma-Khaṇḍa : Nārada asking Nārāyaṇa regarding Kṛṣṇa' incarnation. Rādhā, being cursed by Śrī Dāmā, friend of Kṛṣṇa, had to become a cowherdess, and for her sake apparently, Kṛṣṇa had to come down. The usual story of the Earth going to heaven for relief, begins from the adh. 4 (an old edition the title page of which is missing).

6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa (BhP)-Skandhas. X, XI : giving a connected life of Kṛṣṇa, as an incarnation of supreme Godhead, related by Śuka to king Parîkṣit, who, after hearing the genealogy of the Lunar and Solar kings, asks to be told the deeds of Viṣṇu's part incarnation, in the Yadu's family (Kumbhakonam edition).

7. Vāyu Purāṇa (VyP) -adh. 96 : In course of giving the genealogy of Yadu, from adh. 94, mentions, in this adh. at st. 30 ff. the story of diamond Syamantaka, and brings in Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and gives their birth and deeds (Ānandāśram edition).

8. Devï Bhāgavata Purāṇa (DBh)-Skandha IV, adhs. 18-25 : Vyāsa aud Janamejaya speaking:-latter's question at adh. 17, introduces Kṣṇa after Rāma story, beginning with the birth of Vasudeva, who being Kaśyapa himself, cursed by Varuṇa comes to the earth (Lele's edition with Marathi translation).

9. Agni Purāṇa (AP)-adh. 12 : Agni describing to Vaśiṣṭha the incarnation of Viṣṇu, from Matsya onwards, comes, after Rāma, to Kṛṣṇa, saying "Harivaṁśam pravakṣyāmi" I2. 1. (Ānandāśram edition).

10. Liṅga Purāṇa (LP)–adh. 60 : in the course of giving the Sātvata genealogy, comes upon Kaṁsa (St. 42) ; then Vasudeva and Devakī giving birth to Kṛṣṇa (Calcutta edition by Jivananda Vidyasagara).

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (Mbh.): Kṛṣṇa story is mixed with that of the Pāṇḍavas, all over the Epic ; he is introduced here as already grown up, his first appearance being at the Svayaṁvara of Draupadī. Reference to his birth from Vasudeva in the Aṁśāvataraṇa portion of the Ādiparvan (I. 64. 141–146) is likely to be, an after–addition, and forms no part of the original ; Kṛṣṇa's previous life, is given, only incidentally in the dialogues of other persons (Kumbhakonam edition).

JAINA HARIVAṀŚA PURĀṆA (JHP) :—The Jainas also have adopted the Indian epic and Purāṇic tales, and there is a Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, composed by Jinasena in Śaka 705. This work though mainly intended to describe the deeds of Nemināṭha, one of the Jaina Tīrthaṁkaras, also gives the story of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and although there are many points of difference in the details, the general run of the whole is in agreement with the Indian tradition. (Sholapur edition of Hindi translation).

Of the Purāṇas, BP seems to have an account older than VP, the latter having many additions to the text of the former. These two and PP, AP, BhP, and BVP devote a special portion to the Kṛṣṇa story, while VyP and LP give it, in course of describing the Yādava genealogy. AP is only a short summary concluding with Kṛṣṇa's fight with Bāṇāsura, and peacefully settling with his wives, and this is the general extent of Purāṇic accounts. BVP, meant solely to glorify Rādhā, gives greatest prominence to Kṛṣṇa,s life as connected with her. HV, although meant to serve as a supplement to Mbh., faithfully goes over the extent of the Purāṇic story, and guards against any mixture of the Mbh. account, while BhP is the only Purāṇa, which puts in the two accounts, setting them in proper context. DBh finishes the Kṛṣṇa story with his penance, in which he gratifies Śiva, and obtains boon to have sons, and Śiva then gives a prophecy of Kṛṣṇa's life, bringing it to his death.

Except BP and VP which have a common text, all the other accounts have no textual agreement. The influence of Mbh. on the BhP is very great: in addition to its bringing in the Kṛṣṇa story in Mbh. side by side with that in Purāṇas, the story which introduces the Purāṇa itself, refers to the characters in the Mbh., and starts from Aśvathāman's killing Parīkṣit, while yet unborn, and the child's revival by Kṛṣṇa, an incident mentioned at Mbh. XIV. 69. 24-26.

II—KṚṢṆA-STORY IN THE PURĀṆAS.

1. That so many different compositions bearing on the same subject, and ranging from short ones of a few stanzas, to those extending over thousands of stanzas, are found included in the majority of Purāṇas, is, in addition to its proving the vast popularity of Kṛṣṇa, a point that leads us to some other field, —different texts bearing on almost the same details of the story, would suggest that these texts were composed by more than one author, and not by Vyāsa alone, in different provinces of India, at, perhaps, different times -- but rather than dealing here with such matters of a general nature, it is better, just to study the details of the story itself; it is proposed to divide the whole Purāṇic story into *incident-units*, each being arranged as follows :-(1) number and name of the incident. (b) place where it is found in the different Purāṇas, and the Mahābhārata, (c) general description of the incident, (d) a comparison of the details, and (e) other important matter.

Regarding these different sources, it has to be noted that AP, in its summary, only mentions the incidents, and in these too, the order of some is not in keeping with the general tradition; while LP and VyP as also the DBh., bring in the Kṛṣṇa story only incidentally, first two in giving the Sātvata genealogy, and the last, to prove that even God Viṣṇu has to submit to the decrees of fate[1]. In Mbh. too, the Purāṇic incidents are mentioned only to glorify Kṛṣṇa, while his actual life described in the Epic, mainly as it should, connects itself with the Pāṇḍavas, and forms, as it were, a

1 " Evam nānāvatāretra Viṣṇuḥ ... daivādhīnaḥ sadaiva hi " DBh IV. 20.

separate episode. As stated above, BhP is the only source which puts the two accounts together, so that, the incidents given below, have been given according to the general Purāṇic tradition, and other additional matter, in the different sources, is given under the last item (e).

A general statement made above, about JHP, it is believed, will be sufficient for our present purpose, and it will not be taken into any account in the study of the incidents below. Its title denotes, that it was fashioned after the HV, Mbh. life of the Pāṇḍavas being added to, to make the account complete. As regards its story disagreeing with our Indian tradition, we have to take that the changes were somehow purposely made. The present form of the text of Mbh. was decidedly established some centuries *before* the time of Jinasena, the author of JHP, and although the dates of the Purāṇas are still uncertain, Pargiter[1] places some in the 8th and 9tn centuries, while Kolhatkar,[2] who has dealt with the question at some length, and Kale[3] too, take the Purānās, at least some, to the beginning of the Christian era—it can safely be taken, that Kṛṣṇa legend, whatever its developments be, was fully established before the 8th century. So that unless some Indian source which would serve as a right basis for the JHP, is found out–and no such has yet been traced, it cannot be argued that the Kṛṣṇa story was adopted from mere oral tradition at the end of the 8th contury. Of course, nothing that would lower the dignity of Kṛṣṇa, has been stated, except that Jaina sages are, off and on, brought in to initiate the different characters into the tenets of the sect, to show the greatness of the sect, and only in one case, do we find, Kṛṣṇa stated to be inferior in prowess to Nemi, the hero of the poem ; it is where[4] Kṛṣṇa is shown unable to remove, by force, the foot of Nemi from the throne. There are some statements that are clearly meant to give a moral view to the incident ; e.g. Karṇa is stated[5] to be a son of Kuntī, from Pāṇḍu, after their gāndharva, but before the

1 Ancient Indian Hist. Tradition.
2 Bhāgavatāchā Upasaṁhāra, Ch. 8.
3 Purāṇanirikṣaṇa, Ch. I.
4 JHP Sarga 55, St. 11. 12.
5 Op. cit. 45. 36-38.

celebration of their marriage in public; Draupadī is stated[1] to be the wife of Arjuna alone, and not of the five brothers, mentioning that the garland broke loose from the hands of Draupadī, and the flowers thereof were scattered over all the five brothers; and this incident gave some mischievous people cause to say that she married five. The war with Jarāsaṁdha, forms the most important incident in JHP. Kauravas are said to have sided with him, and they retire to forest after the death of Jarāsaṁdha. The whole story is, in this work, profusely mixed with hundreds of other characters, and it would suffice our purpose, here, to conclude, without going into any more details, that the work is adopted from the HV and Mbh. together, and the story is given a greatly divergent tone by many additions and changes.

Incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the Purāṇas.[2]—

(a) I. THE EARTH'S APPROACH TO THE GODS.

(b) BP 181.5-20; VP 1.12-33; PP 272.12-18; HV 52; BVP 4.2-56; BhP 1.17-19; VyP—no reference; DBh. 18.2-25; AP, LP—no reference; MBH I.65-37-53.

(c) The Earth was burdened by the sins of the Asuras, and, seeking relief from the Supreme God, approached Brahmā, who along with other gods, repaired to the milky ocean, where God Nārāyaṇa was enjoying rest.

(d) BP and VP, state that the earth went to mount Meru, where gods were sitting in a conference and addressed herself to them, when Brahmā, of his own accord, proposed going to Nārāyaṇa; PP, BhP and Mbh omit the conference of gods on mount Meru, stating that the Earth went direct to Brahmā, PP saying that the Earth disappeared after her appeal, while according to Mbh, Brahmā gave her leave to go, and then called the conference. BhP and DBh paint the Earth as going in the form of a *cow*. BVP and DBh add more stages; according to BVP, the Earth

1 Op. cit. 45. 135ff.

2 First number denotes the adhyāya, and the second, the stanzas describing the incident; where this is co-extensive with the adhyāyas, only the first numbers are given. Roman figures inserted before the adhyāyas numbers, show the parvans in the Mahābhārata and Skandhas in BhP.

went to Brahmā, who took her to Śiva, then the three going to Dharma, and after consulting him, all went to Hari, who advised them to repair to Goloka and request Kṛṣṇa who would do the needful. According to DBh, the Earth went to Indra, who admitted his inability to help her, and took her to Brahmā, who then took them both to God Hari, who, in his turn, explains the superiority of the goddess Devī, and all offer prayers to her. HV describes the death of Kālanemi, with full details, at adh. 48, 49; VP, too, at St. 22, puts in the words of the Earth, that the same demon was born as Kaṁsa, but makes no direct mention of this incident. Viṣṇu, who was sleeping for ages, is, in HV, awakened by Brahmā and sages, at the end of adh. 5I, when Brhamā shows the distressed Earth, and asks Hari to come to mount Meru for consultation. As context to this incident, VP-BP *differing* here —and PP, mention the marriage of Vasudeva, and Devakī, and their subsequent captivity by Kaṁsa, who had learnt of his future death from Devakī's issue, (st. 12 VP, and PP).

In Viśvopākhyāna, at Mbh. VI 65-68, the gods' conference on the mount Meru, is mentioned, where the supreme God comes and is requested by Brahmā, to be born in the family of the Yādavas.

(e) Compared with BP, VP inserts 6 stanzas, in the speeeh of the Earth, stating that all creation was the different forms of God Viṣṇu.

(a) II. GOD'S PROMISE.

(b) BP 181.29-32; VP 1.33-65; PP 272.18-25; HV 52–56; BVP 4.56-6.278; BhP 1.20-26; VyP–no mention; DBh 18.25–19.47; AP LP–no mention; Mbh 1.65.54–66.1 and VI.66.2.

(c) Going to the abode of the supreme God Viṣṇu, the gods, Brahmā prominent among them, offered prayers, when the God learnt of the trouble, and promised to relieve the Earth of her burden after being born as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva. He also asked the other gods to go down in various characters, and help his cause.

(d) BP and VP give a text for the prayer by Brahmā, PP only stating that prayer was offered, while BhP says that Brahmā

recited the Puruṣa Sūkta, and had the inspired response from the Sky— without the God appearing personally—and then the word was carried to other gods. In HV, it is Brahmā who gives his advice to Hari in the conference ; according to BVP, the matter is finally settled in Goloka, the abode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, latter allotting to each god his particular character, and lastly consoling his love Rādhā, for the coming separation of 100 years, which was an outcome of a former love intrigue in Goloka, and during this period, Kṛṣṇa was to perform all his life's work in Mathurā, Dvārakā, etc. In DBh, the gods, under advice of Nārāyaṇa, all offer prayers to the supreme Śakti, and she disposes of the matter, herself promising to appear as a child of Yaśodā, and transfer Viṣṇu to Gokula from his place of captivity as also effect the removal of Śeṣa, from the womb of Devakī to that of Rohiṇī. This Śakti is in other Purāṇas, referred to as Yogamāyā, whom Hari asks to do these things. BP, VP, DBh also, and Mbh. I. 214. 32, 33, state that the God rooted out two hairs from himself-one black and the other white,-and these entering the wombs of Devakī, and Rohiṇī appeared as Kṛṣṇa and Rāma respectively. According to Mbh, in the reference in Ādiparvan the God settles the matter with Indra, and, in that in the Bhīṣmaparvan, the God only promised that it will be all right, and disappeared. These three different versions of the same incident show an effort to record all oral traditions, in some connection or another, in the body of the Epic.

(e) VP inserts an additional prayer for Brahmā at 34-50, whereupon Hari asks him to speak his mind, and then VP takes the text common to BP.

(a) III. KRSNA'S BIRTH.

(b) BP 181.32–182.11; VP 1.65–3.7 ; PP 272.25–38 ; HV 57–60; BVP 7.1–74; BhP 1.27–3.8; VyP 96.192-202; DBh 20. (1-52, other matter) 53-23-21; AP 12,4-6; LP 69.46 48; Mbh I.64.141.145.

(c) Vasudeva married Devakī; while the ceremony was being performed, Kaṁsa, the cousin of the bride, was apprised of his future death at the hands of the eighth son of Devakī ; he rushed upon her with a drawn sword, but was pacified by Vasudeva, who

promised to hand over his children to Kaṁsa, as soon as they were born. Kaṁsa killed six sons, but the seventh time, the child, while still in the womb, was transferred, by divine power, from Devakī to Rohiṇī, another wife of Vasudeva, living elsewhere. This was the boy Saṁkarṣaṇa, so called from his being drawn away from Devakī's womb. Kaṁsa was more watchful at the eighth time, and kept the couple under close custody, and it was thus, in the prison house, that our hero was born.

(d) VP and PP give the marriage and the subsequent compromise between Kaṁsa and the couple, to have occurred before the Earth's approach to gods (cf. I, above); VyP gives it at stanzas 219-228, as a previous incident to account for Kaṁsa's cruelty. Kaṁsa's death is foretold by a word from heaven according to PP 272.7; BVP 7.15; VyP 96.220; by Nārada as shown in BP 181.33; HV 57; VP mentions the first at 1.7 and the second at 1.66, saying that the couple was kept in captivity, upon Kaṁsa's death being confirmed by Nārada's statement, while BhP and DBh give the heavenly prophecy first, and introduce Nārada, when Kaṁsa returns to Vasudeva his first child, and there Nārada urges Kaṁsa to kill all children, as which particular child was the eighth, could not be certain, as the numbers could be counted from any child as the first ; this last argument, according to DBh, which also mentions Vasudeva's armed opposition to Kaṁsa, when the elders intervened and the compromise was settled.

The first six children killed by Kaṁsa – VyP says that he also killed Vasudeva's ten more sons born of his other wives–are the former sons of Hiraṇyakaśipu, according to BP, VP, HV and and DBh, of Hiraṇyākṣa, according to PP ; BhP, along with BVP and LP mentions only the death of the six children at 2. 4, but, later on, at 85.47 it gives the Hiraṇyakaśipu story, when Kṛṣṇa shows his mother her dead sons : the story, that these six 'garbhas' were favoured by Brahmā, and consequently cursed by Hiraṇya°, occurs in DBh and with more details in HV, where Viṣṇu personally goes to Pātāla to give a dream vision to the six. BhP account in the second context, says that they were six sons of Marīci, and having laughed at god Brahmā, ready for a sexual union with his daughter, were born of Hiraṇya, and afterwards taken to Devakī's womb, by Yogamāya, and killed by Kaṁsa. It is the

same illusion called Māyā or Nidrā, that, being advised by Viṣṇu, brings about also, the transfer of Balarāma to Rohiṇī's womb, and finally herself taking birth from Yaśodā, to be exchanged for Kṛṣṇa; and as a reward for these acts, she is promised high praise in heaven, Viṣṇu himself repeating the stotra.[1]

The killing of the first six, and the disappearance of the seventh[2] from Devakī's womb, brings us to the birth of the eighth. BP and VP have a praise offered by the gods to the pregnant Devakī, while in BVP and BhP, the prayer is addressed to the God in the womb; BVP states that Devakī's womb was full of air—'Vāta' only, and at the last moment, she fell senseless, when the air escaped, and the God appeared before her; BhP also mentions the mysterious appearance of the divine form, other Purāṇas state his birth[3], DBh giving a curious incident on the occasion: Devakī feeling ashamed asks Vasudeva to turn his face away, while she was delivering; BVP states that he fetched a learned Brāhmaṇa for consultation, and some female relatives to attend upon his wife.

Kṛṣṇa is described[4] as, at first, having four hands and all the divine appearance of Viṣṇu; BVP describes his divine form, but gives him two hands only, and DBh makes him only a "bright child." All Purāṇas state that the elements were extremely pleasant at the birth of Kṛṣṇa: winds blowing auspiciously, the stars shining with lustre etc; and HV and VyP agree in saying that the time was the "Vijaya Muhūrta." Mbh gives no details about this birth.

1 So BP and VP; HV allots a separate adh. 59, calling it 'Āryā stava' BhP mentions Viṣṇu requesting the Māyā to transfer the seventh child.

2 LP seems to consider Rāma, as the first born: "Jāte *Rāme* tha nihate ṣaḍ-garbhe cātidakṣiṇe" 69. 46.

3 cf. BVP: "Niḥsasāra ca vāyuś ca ... 173, tatraiva bhagavān Kṛṣṇo ... bahirāvirbabhūva ha 174. BhP: "Devakyāmavirasīt." BP,VP "jāyamāne" PP: "Tasyām jātaḥ." HV: jātam." and DBh "Suṣuve."

4 cf. BP, VP, VyP 'caturbāhuḥ,' PP, BhP, AP, LP; caturbhujaḥ' BVP; 'dvibhujam muralīhastam.' HV 'Yutam divyaiḥ lakṣaṇaiḥ' (doubtful).

(e) VP inserts 12 st. (2. 7-18) in the prayer offered by the gods to Devakī. AP and LP in mentioning this birth, give the removal of the Earth's burden, as a motive[1] :

(a) IV KṚṢṆA'S REMOVAL TO GOKULA.

(b) BP 182. 12-32; VP 3. 8-29; PP 272. 39-58: HV 60; BVP 7. 75-132: BhP 3. 9-4. 13; VyP 96. 203-210; DBh 23. 22-48; AP 12. 7-13; LP 69. 49-61, Mbh-no reference to these incidents, is found in the Epic, only indirect mention of Kṛṣṇa's deeds is made collectively, in some connection, and these will be considered later on.

(c) Seeing the God in his divine glory, before him, Vasudeva requested him, after prayers, to become an ordinary child, telling him of the fear from Kaṁsa, whereupon, the superhuman turned into a child, and Vasudeva, according to the advice given him, took the child to Gokula, and exchanging it for the daughter of Yaśodā, returned, and placed her with his wife Devakī, when Kaṁsa was informed of the birth of the eighth child. He struck her against a stone, but she escaped his hands, and showing her divine form in the sky, told Kaṁsa that his death, the real eighth child, was in safety elsewhere.

(d) BP and VP give two stanzas for Vasudeva, and two for Devakī, praying the divine form as supreme God; and being afraid of Kaṁsa, they ask Him to withdraw his divine form with four hands; the Bhagavat tells Devakī that he had been born[2] of her, as she had prayed for, formerly. It is further stated that while Vasudeva was taking the child to Gokula. at night, the guards were sleeping, influenced by Yoganidrā; the child was protected from the rain by Śeṣa, covering it with his hoods, that the deep river Yamunā became passable with knee-deep water, that on returning after the exchange of children, while Yaśodā was unconscious, the guards heard the crying of the child and informed Kaṁsa. PP omits the words of Devakī and Bhagavat, and adds that Vraja was situated on the bank of the river. HV, BVP, and VyP do not give any details of the incidents on the way;

1 Cf. AP; "bhuvo bhārāvatārārtham" 12. 4, LP "Bhūbhāranigrahārthāya" 69. 55, implying a reference (?) to incidents in I, II.

2 "jātoham yat tavodarāt," BP 182, 18, VP 3. 14.

BhP in the reply of the Bhagavat, gives an account of the former lives of his parents and their hard penance for having him as their child. BP, VP, PP, AP, and LP do not state as to who advised the transfer. HV, BVP, VyP, and BhP do it under advice of Bhagavat; DBh mentioning a message from the sky, this last stating that the exchange of children was made between Vasudeva and a maid servant–Sairandhrī–who stood at the door of Nanda's house, and according to VyP, and LP, Vasudeva did it with the knowledge of Yaśodā, and in addition requested Nanda to protect the child carefully. According to HV and VyP, Vasudeva personally gives the information to Kaṁsa, HV, BVP, and BhP adding a prayer from Devakī to spare the child; HV and VyP states that the girl Ekānaṁśā (so BVP, also; °daśā in VyP). was worshipped by the Yādavas, as she protected Kṛṣṇa, and BVP states that Kaṁsa returned the daughter to the weeping parents, and she was, during the marriage ceremony of Rukmiṇī, married to sage Durvāsas. DBh refers to a former agreement between Yaśodā and Devakī, regarding the exchange of children.

(a) V. KAṀSA'S SUBSEQUENT MOVE.

(b) BP 182.1-11 ; VP 4.1-17; PP. 272,59-63; HV 60; BVP-no reference; BhP 4.14-46; VyP–no reference; DBh 23.49-53 AP, LP–no reference.

(c) This incident consists of two sub-units: (1) Kaṁsa consults his counsellors, and orders the slaughter of new-born children thereabouts, and (2) confused at the escape of the girl, and the warning of his death, offers apologies to Vasudeva and Devakī, and sets them free.

(d) BP and VP and PP[1] mention death being ordered only in case of children having 'extra-ordinary' strength. BhP interchanges the two incidents, and says that Kaṁsa, after consultation, decides to harass the good people, as that would disturb the peace of God Hari, who was at the bottom of all his trouble. HV mentions only the second incident, and DBh the first, omitting any consulting, and stating that Kaṁsa ordered the wholesale slaughter of children as soon as born[2].

1 " yatrodriktam balam bāle " BP 182. 7, VP 4, 13; " Samudriktabalān bālān " PP 272. 62.

2 " jātamātrāś ca hantavyā " DBh 23. 50,

(e) VP inserts 6 stanzas in Kaṁsa's speech, saying that all gods were powerless before him; BhP puts the same[1] ideas, only in an enlarged form, in the mouth of Kaṁsa's counsellors; BVP inserts another matter after IV: adh. 8-janmāṣṭamīvrata, adh. 9-former lives of Nanda and Yaśodā, Vasudeva and his two wives.

(a) VI. VASUDEVA AND NANDA.

(b) BP 183.1-6; VP 5.1-6; PP 272.64-98; HV 61; BhP 5.19-32; no reference in other sources.

(c) In an interview between Vasudeva and Nanda, the former requested the latter to take care of his children.

(d) According to BP, VP and BhP, Nanda, who was full of joy at the birth of a son from Yaśodā, had gone to Mathurā, to pay taxes and there Vasudeva saw him and congratulating him upon the birth of a son, requested Nanda to protect his own son with Rohiṇī, and return to Vraja, as there were some bad omens portending forthcoming trouble. HV follows the same course of details, but states that Nanda had come with Yaśodā and the child, and that Vasudeva advised for a shift of Nanda's place of residence, and Nanda, accordingly, following the course of river Yamunā, established his camp at the foot of the hill Govardhana. PP states, instead, that Vasudeva visited the Vraja, and keeping Rohiṇī's son, under Yaśodā's care, returned to Mathurā.

(a) VII. KṚṢṆA'S BIRH FESTIVALS.

(b) BP 184. 39, 20; VP 6, 8, 9; PP 272. 69-74; BV no mention: BVP 9. 42ff. and again at adh. 13; BhP 5. 1-18; DBh. 25. 1-5.

(c) The birth of the child was celebrated with great festivities by Nanda; the Gopīs paid a visit to Yaśodā, and offered her many presents, and blessed the child with great joy.

(d) BP, VP, PP and BhP, further on at adh. 8. 1-20, mention that Garga, the family priest of the Yādavas, visited Nanda, at the instance of Vasudeva, and there performed the religious 'Jātaka' rites of the two children 'in secret,' giving them their respective names. BVP adds a prophecy, of

1 "Kim indreṇālpavīryeṇa VP. 4a = BhP 36c.

Kṛṣṇa's life, by the sage Garga, in which the Pāṇḍavas are referred to. DBh states that these festivities were informed to Kaṁsa, by men of his secret service, and Nārada had told him about Nanda, which led to the incidents in VIII, below.

(e) BhP transposes incidents VI and VII.

(a) VIII. KṚṢṆA IN THE COW-SETTLEMENT.

These occupy the life of Kṛṣṇa till his arrival in Mathurā; some of the incidents are mere ordinary accidents, but the Purāṇas make much of these, as would naturally be the case in the life of a great hero. So, with these general remarks, we proceed here to compare and study the details of each incident as it is presented in the Purāṇas. VyP, which gives some stray information about Kṛṣṇa, in the course of giving the genelaogy, does not refer to any of these details. LP makes only a general statement[1] that " all the efforts of Kaṁsa, were rendered fruitless by her– meaning the Devī–who had warned Kaṁsa of his death. " DBh and AP mention[2] some incidents, without giving any details thereof. These minor sources, are, therefore, generally ignored, below.

(a) i— PŪTANĀ.

(b) BP 184. 7-21 ; VP 5. 7-23 ; PP 272. 74-82 ; HV 63 ; BVP 10; BhP 6.

(c) missioned by Kaṁsa, Pūtanā, the death of children, proceeded to Gokula, in an attractive form, and offered the child Kṛṣṇa her breasts for a suck ; the child sucked away the life out of her, and she fell dead in her giant form, which put all to fright, when Nanda and others, fearing some evil to the child, performed some magic rites, for its protection.

(d) HV states that she was the nurse—"Dhātrī"—of Kaṁsa, and appeared like a bird–'Śakunī'; while BVP calls her his dear sister, stating that she arrived as a Brāhmaṇī from Mathurā, and that she was, originally 'Ratnamālā' the daughter of Bali, and had a motherly feeling towards Vāmana, which led to this incident.

1 Yastatpratikṛtau yatnaḥ, *tayā* caiva jaḍīkṛtaḥ, LP 69. 62.

2 DBh 24. 6, 7 ; AP 12. 14-22.

BhP treats this as an independent incident and has a concluding "Phalaśruti" stanza at the end. BP and VP do not mention the agency of Kaṁsa, in this affair. All sources except BVP state that Pūtanā approached the place without the knowledge of others. HV adding that she hid herself under a cart, and PP saying that she had besmeared her breasts with poison. PP and BVP add her cremation by Nanda.

HV does not mention any Rakṣā magic here, and BVP states[1] only that some auspicious act was performed. This Rakṣā consisted, according to the remaining sources, of placing the cowdung on the head, moving the tail of a cow over the body and chanting some spells; these last are given in BP, VP, and BhP, this third one having quite a different text, but the general principle seems to be, in both the cases, to refer to some name of Godhead, for protection of some certain part of the body. Many of these names like 'Hṛṣīkeśa, Govinda', are seen applied to Kṛṣṇa himself, while others like 'Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa' refer to the supreme God.

(e) VP transposes a stanza and inserts two, in this passage.

(a) ii– ŚAKAṬA.

(b) BP 184.22–28; VP 6.1–7; PP 272.82–85; HV 62; BVP 12.1–13; BhP 7.1–17.

(c) while Yaśodā was engaged elsewhere, the child was weeping for a suck, and, throwing up its feet, upset the cart, under which it was lying. The noise brought the elders to the scene, where other boys told of the incident. Yaśodā rearranged the upset cart, and did some worshipping.

(d) HV transposes (i) and (ii), while BVP inserts the Rakṣā Kavaca, in its own text, *after* this cart incident, stating that it was recited by a Dvija placing his hand on the child.

(e) PP inserts one more incident after this, at 272.86–89 ab: the child killed a Rākṣasa [2] in the from of a cock which had struck him with its palm. PP has some agreement in text here, with that of BP and VP .. BP 23=PP 83 cd, 84 ab.

1 "Maṅgalam kārayāmāsa" BVP 10. 38.

2 "Rākṣasaḥ ... kukkuṭaveṣadhṛk" PP 272. 87.

Between this (ii) and the following incident (iii), BhP has some additional matter, giving some more incidents; BVP mentioning, only one of them:—BhP 7.18–33; BVP 11 (i.e. *before* Śakaṭa): the child taken away by a whirlwind, was saved. The wind is called Tṛṇāvarta, evidently a demon, and was killed by the child striking him against a stone. BhP 7.34–37; Yaśodā sees the whole creation in the yawning child: 8.1–20; Garga performing the Nāmakaraṇa, referred to above under VII; 21–31; Kṛṣṇa growing up; and playing; 32–45; Kṛṣṇa, charged with eating dust, 'mṛd' opened his mouth before Yaśodā, who saw the whole creation there, and was bewildered. BP and VP, and BhP also, mention Garga's performing the Nāmakaraṇa (cf. VII above) as coming off after this incident [i.e. (ii)].

(a) iii– KṚṢṆA and the MORTAR.

(b) BP 184.31–42; VP 6.10–20; PP 272.89–97; HV 64; BVP 14, BhP 9.10.

(c) Kṛṣṇa and Rāma had now begun to creep on their knees and hands, and wandering here and there, did many small mischiefs. Yeśodā, to prevent Kṛṣṇa from this, bound him to a mortar with a rope, and went to her work. Kṛṣṇa, moving along with the mortar, reached two large trees, Yamala, and Arjuna, and in an effort to move on, felled both to the ground.

(d) PP mentions that[1] Kṛṣṇa stole butter from the neighbours, and that Yaśodā, after binding him, went to sell milk. HV states that Gopīs saw the accident and called back Yaśodā, scolding her for her harshness. BVP differing, says that Kṛṣṇa ate butter, milk etc. while Yaśodā was away to bathe herself, and began to fly, when she knew the fact from other boys. She then bound him to a tree, and beating him, left him there, when Kṛṣṇa, sportively felled the tree, and Nanda and others got angry with Yaśodā for this harashness. BhP has again different details: Kṛṣṇa approached Yaśodā for a suck, while she was churning for butter; she gave him a little, but he was not satisfied, and angrily broke the pot, and fled out. She pursued the child, and bound him to a mortar; the length of all the ropes in the house was

1 "Navanītam jahārāśu" PP 272.90, and "...vikretum gorasādikam" PP 272.91.

not sufficient to bind him, but finally Kṛṣṇa granting the binding, and then moving on, brought on the accident. The two trees, according to this source, were the sons of Kubera, Nalakūbara Maṇigrīva, followers of Rudra, and were cursed by sage Nārada, for their indecent acts. They were promised relief at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, and the God acted accordingly. BVP which refers to only one tree, brings in the first named son only, who was seen *naked* with Rambhā, by the sage Devala, and subsequently cursed. PP in some MSS. only, states that the trees were, after relief, turned into *kiṁnaras*. This incident brings to Kṛṣṇa, the synonym Dāmodara.

(e) BP 38ab = PP 92ab ; v. 1. 'Kamalekṣaṇaḥ' for 'Dharaṇīdharaḥ.' BVP in adh. 15, following this incident, mentions the marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa performed by Brahmā. The situation described here, reminds one of the opening stanza : " Meghair meduram ambaram ... " in Jayadeva's famous poem, 'Gītagovinda.'

(a) iv- THE NEW SETTLEMENT.

(b) BP 184. 42-60 ; VP 6. 21-51 ; PP 272. 97-99 ; HV 65, 66 ; BVP 16. 147-179 ; BhP 11. 21-40.

(c) these accidents frightened all, and so, Nanda, in consultation with his elder neighbours, removed the whole camp to Vṛndāvana, on the bank of the Yamunā, where they began to pass days in peace, the boys sporting among the cattle and playing with their mates.

(d) BP and VP state that although the place, where they had removed, was dry owing to hot-season, it was, as if by magic, turned[1] fresh with new grass, as if in Autumn, also that the children, in course of time, became *seven* years old, when rainy season set in. VP inserts 12 stanzas to describe the sports of the boys in the season. HV mentions the shift to have come out, when the boys had become seven years old[2] ; when Kṛṣṇa spoke to Rāma about shifting to Vṛndāvana, as the present Vraja was full of bustle ;

1 " tatas tatrāti rūkṣepi gharmakāle dvijottama (VP ' tadā dvija) ' Prāvṛtkāla ivābhūt ca (VP. ivodbhūtam) navaśaṣpam samantataḥ ' BP 184. 50cd, 51ab ; VP 6. 29.

2 " Tasminneva vrajasthāne *saptavarṣau* babhūvatuḥ." HV. 65. 1,

the place was, soon after, attacked by wolves, and this was the immediate cause of the shift. BVP at adh. 17.1-28 states that Vṛndāvana was built by Viśvakarmā, in a night, and gives a royal description of the place. BhP, previous to describing the shift, devotes some stanzas to the mothers after their sportive children, where we can mark the difference between the ages of the two brothers, Yaśodā calls Kṛṣṇa for a suck of her breast and asks Rāma to take food with Nanda, who was waiting for him.

(e) After this incident, BhP inserts some more, which are not found in some of the other sources: BhP 11.41–45; a daitya in the form of a calf–'vatsa'–killed by Kṛṣṇa: BhP 46-53; PP 272.100.101; BVP 16.1–13 (i.e. *before* XIB, vii, and the shift) a huge crane, the demon Baka, caught hold of Kṛṣṇa. in a pond, and was subsequently killed by him. BhP 12, Aghāsura, a young brother of Baka, lying in the form of a huge cobra, on the way, was entered by the mouth, and killed by suffocation, by Kṛṣṇa. BhP 13,14; PP 272,102–128; BVP 20 ; God Brhmā carried away the cattle and boys ; Kṛṣṇa himself took all these forms, and stayed on for a year, without incurring anybody's doubt, when Brahmā returned, and praising Kṛṣṇa for his great power, restored all to him. BhP does not mention rainy season here, but transposes it elsewhere at adh. 20.

With regard to BhP, it has to be noted that this Purāṇa, the most popular one of all, on account of its being given a very high place of authority among all Vaiṣṇava sects, exists in two distinct Recensions, named, the Śrīdhara and Vijayadhvaja (vij), after the respective commentators ; a striking difference can be noted here : stanzas 10, 11 depicting Kṛṣṇa, acting as a fruit-seller, are omitted in Vij ; st. 12–20 Yaśodā calling Kṛṣṇa and Rāma back from the riverside, and st. 21–29, Nanda consulting others about the shift, are transposed, inserting a st. after 20, to give Nanda's order of the shift the next day :—... " śvoto vṛndāvanam yāmo... '' and having the same run as Śrīdhara to the end of adh. 11 ; vij. omits adhs 12, 13, 14 (see contents above) altogether.

(a) v- KĀLĪYA, THE SERPENT.

(b) BP 185. 1–56; VP 7. 1-82 ; PP 272. 128–134 ; HV 68, 69 BVP 19. 1-169 ; BhP 15. 47–17. 19.

(c) this great poisonous serpent lived with his numerous mates, in a deep pool of the river Yamunā ; Kṛṣṇa unaccompanied by his brother Rāma, entered the pool, one day, and putting down all the serpent's attacks, totally humbled him down, when the mates, as also the serpent himself, offered prayers to Kṛṣṇa, as the powerful God, when Kāliya was asked to leave the pool and proceed with his family to the sea, where, thenceforth he, his hood marked with foot-prints of Kṛṣṇa, had no cause for fear from Garuḍa, the Eagle. While Kṛṣṇa was fighting with this huge serpent, Nanda and all others had come to the bank, greatly frightened about the boy's safety, and were full of joy to receive him back, safe.

(d) BhP states that the cows, and the boys drank of the water and died ; Kṛṣṇa revived them all, by his sight, and then proceeded to put down the serpent. As the fight proceeded for a long time, the men on the bank grew hopeless about the life of Kṛṣṇa, and began to wail more piteously, when Rāma, according to BP, VP and HV, asked Kṛṣṇa to take compassion on his relations, and ceasing to act an ordinary human being, bring the struggle to an end. BhP states that Rāma kept silent, all along, and when the affection of all was put to test, Kṛṣṇa himself made an end of the fight ; while in BVP Rāma told Nanda and others to take courage, and impressed upon their minds, the divine powers of Kṛṣṇa. This last and BhP give an account of Kāliya, in which, he, according to the agreement, did not give his share to Garuḍa, and fled, to this pool in the Yamunā, to save himself from the Eagle's wrath ; Garuḍa was prevented from visiting this pool, by a sage, Saubhari, who was practising penance, and was frequently troubled by the Eagle.

(e) VP inserts in this passage, 9 lines, 'Gopīs crying', 12 lines 'Nāgapatnīs offering prayers,' 20 lines, 'serpent offering prayers ;' BhP 17. 20–25, BVP 19. 170 to end, state another incident after this ; while the whole camp was resting at night, a forest-fire broke out, and frightened with death to all. Kṛṣṇa swallowed up the fire, and restored ease among all. BhP transposes the Kāliya and the Dhenuka incident. BP disagreeing with VP and other sources, reads the name as "Kālīya."

(a) vi- DHENUKA, THE ASS.

(b) BP 186. 1-13 ; TP 8. 1-13 ; PP. 272. 135--139 ; HV. 70 ; BVP 22 ; BhP 15.

(c) A palm-grove, was infested by asses, Dhenuka, being their leader. Kṛṣṇa one day attacked the palm-grove, and killed the ass Dhenuka, putting others to flight or death, and thereby giving the cow-boys free access to the grove, and the fruits thereof.

(d) BP, VP, and BVP state that Kṛṣṇa with Rāma and others went to the palm--grove, when the boys requested him to let them have the sweet palm-fruit. In BhP, Kṛṣṇa is first requested by his play-mates, Śrīdāma, Subala, etc., and asked to kill the asses ; while HV states that Kṛṣṇa went of his own accord.

According to HV and BhP it is Rāma who is attacked by, and kills in fight, the ass Dhenuka, and then Kṛṣṇa helped to strike other asses ; in BVP the ass Dhenuka, seeing Kṛṣṇa, prays for death and subsequent relief from that birth. Kṛṣṇa could not kill one who was thus his devotee, but soon after, the ass forgot all and attacked Kṛṣṇa and was ultimately killed. Dhenuka is, here stated to be 'Sāhasika', the son of Bali, cursed by Sage Durvāsas for having disturbed his Yogic peace, by having sexual intercourse with Tilottamā, in the same cave, where the sage was resting.

(e) as stated above, BhP transposes incidents (v) and (vi) while BVP gives this, as coming after Indra festival (see viii below). PP, in one Ms, states this, after the cobra incident, mentioned under iv. BVP continues in the next adh. 23 and 24, the Durvāsas story, saying how he himself was tempted to marry, by the sight of the naked coition, and getting a troublesome wife, cursed her to death, and this sin brought about his defeat in the case of Ambarīṣa (BVP 25).

(a) vii- PRALAMBĀSURA.

(b) BP 187. 1-30 ; VP 9. 1-30 ; PP 272. 140-143 ; HV71 ; BVP 16. 14-19 ; BhP 18. 17-32.

(c) disguised as a Gopa, this demon, took part in the play of the boys, and taking Rāma on his shoulders, bore him far away, where he was killed by Rāma.

(d) the play was to be played in pairs, and the winner was to be borne by the defeated, as far as the Bhāṇḍīra tree. According to BhP, Kṛṣṇa being defeated, bore his friend Sudāmā, while other sources state the reverse. BP, VP, and HV state that Balarāma, while being taken away, began to cry to Kṛṣṇa, who reminded him of his powers, and encourged him with words, when he killed the demon with a stroke of his fist. While BhP states[1] that this was done without the encouragement from Kṛṣṇa. BVP mentions the name Pralamba, but brings him as a *bull*, while, according to other sources, the bull is the asura Ariṣṭa (vide x below), and gives this bull incident, after Baka (see iv above).

(e) VP inserts 7 stanzas, in the speech of Kṛṣṇa addressed to Rāma, one, at the beginning to give the context of the Dhenuka incident, and transposes a line, elsewhere. BhP inserts, a description of the Grīṣma season in 16 stanzas, before giving this incident, and states that the season was enjoyed like Vasanta, by all, BP 11 = HV 3745.

BhP has additional matter after this incident:—adh. 19; Gopas saved from fire by Kṛṣṇa, in Muñja forest, adh. 20 a description of the seasons Varṣā and Śarad; a description of 'Prāvṛṣ,' the rainy season, occurs in BP and VP, as subsequent to the shift (vide iv above), and these sources, state here, that the rains were over, and Śarad had set in– adh. 21–Gopīs attracted by Kṛṣṇa's flute, sing his praise. BhP adh. 22; BVP 27–the 'Kātyāyanī vrata,' in which young girls, wishing Kṛṣṇa for their spouse, went to the river, and leaving their garments on the banks, bathed naked. Kṛṣṇa, following, took the garments away, and after teasing them a little, favoured them; BVP adding[2] that he promised them full play in the 'Rāsa' dance,

1 Cf. "...Haladhara īṣad atrasat," 27, Athāgatasmṛtiḥ...BhP 18.28.

2 "Triṣu māseṣvatīteṣu yūyam krīḍām mayā saha...vṛndāraṇye kariṣyatha' BVP 27.234.

that was to come shortly, after 3 months. BhP adh. 23 ; BVP 18. 1-74 (i. e. before (V) Kāliya)-Gopas were hungry, so Kṛṣṇa advised them to go to a sacrificial place nearby, and beg for food. The boys were refused any. by the Brāhmaṇas, but were offered the same by the wives of the priests. In BhP, the Gopas returned to Kṛṣṇa, after the first refusal, and afterwards the ladies coming to see Kṛṣṇa, with food, are asked by him to return to their husbands, who too, repent, after learning from their wives, but could not personally go to see Kṛṣṇa, 'for fear of Kaṁsa[1]'; BVP states that the boys, of their own accord, approached the ladies, who on hearing that Kṛṣṇa and Rāma were nearby, went to see them, where the god Kṛṣṇa, on being prayed, sent them all to his Goloka, and by his power of illusion, let their shades-"chāyās"-go back to their husbands, who repented for their negligence. Then, at st. 75 to end, is given an account of how "Agni," in former times, was tempted, by their beauty, to touch the wives of the seven sages, when the sage, Aṅgirā, cursed the Fire to be all devourer, and the ladies, to be born on the Earth, and to return after seeing Kṛṣṇa.

(a) viii- INDRA FESTIVAL.

(b) BP 187.31-188.49 ; VP 10.1-12. 56 ; PP 272.181-217 ; HV 72-76 ; BVP 21 (i. e. before Dhenuka vi) ; BhP 24-27.

(c) Nanda, with his people, used to celebrate, every year, at the beginning of winter, festivals in honour of Indra, who showered rains, and gave them and their cattle means of living. Kṛṣṇa objected to this custom, and advised, instead, the worship of hill Govardhana, which actually offered fooding to their cattle. Nanda consented, and the festivities were done in honour of the hill. Indra got angry, at this, and showered heavy rains on the place, when Kṛṣṇa lifted the hill itself, and provided shelter for his men and cattle. Indra thus defeated, came, and prayed Kṛṣṇa for forgiveness.

(d) BP, VP and HV call this festival 'Śakramaha ' while BhP calls it " Indrayāga. " PP mentions,[2] and HV implies[3], that

1 "...Kaṁsād bhītā na cācalan" BhP 23.52.

2 "...Saptarātraṃ nirantaram" PP 272.183.

3 "...Saptarātre tu nirvṛtte....."HV 75.3956.

it rained continuously for seven nights. According to BVP, Nanda began to pray to Indra, when it began to rain heavily, when Kṛṣṇa got angry and told Nanda that he was all powerful, and able to burn even Indra ; all the powers of the latter were rendered futile, when he had to surrender himself to Kṛṣṇa. The adh. ends with a prayer from Nanda, where he prays Kṛṣṇa as the supreme God. The same idea occurs in BhP adh. 26, where the Gopas wondering at the superhuman powers of the child Kṛṣṇa, are told by Nanda that he knew from Garga, that led him to think, that Kṛṣṇa was an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.[1] After peace was restored, Indra, according to BP, VP, HV, came down on his elephant Airāvata, and saw Kṛṣṇa on the Govardhana hill. PP does not mention any place, while BhP states that the interview was secret, and Indra was accompanied by the heavenly cow Surabhi. BVP says that, as soon as Indra was made powerless, he fainted[2] and then had a vision of the all pervading Kṛṣṇa, whom he subsepuently prayed to. In BP, VP, supported by HV, in an enlarged form, Indra requests Kṛṣṇa to help Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa readily promises to help him. Indra's prayer in PP, is framed after the fashion of the famous creation hymn in Ṛgveda. " Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ...etc." The refrain of the hymn, "Kasmaï devāya haviṣā vidhema" is put in this prayer as " Tasmai devāya bhavate vidhema haviṣā vayam. "

(e) VP inserts 19 stanzas, in all, in the course of this passage; the largest insertion being one of 14 stanzas, adding a description of the Śarad season, others being, one of 3 st. stating the power of the mountains, and another of 2 st. describing the heavy showers. BP 187.34 ab = HV 72.3789. BP 188.1 = HV 75.3893. HV states that two months had passed since the Pralamba incident, when the festival set in. PP transposes incidents (viii) and (ix), while BhP has additional matter between these two incidents : adh. 28. 1–9 Nanda, bathing in the river, was taken away by Varuṇa's servants, and afterwards released by Kṛṣṇa ; st. 10–17 : Gopas, on hearing this incident, wished to see, and were shown by Kṛṣṇa, his own world, the Vaikuṇṭha.

1 " Manye Nārāyaṇasyāṁśam..." 1 BhP 26.23.

2 "Kariṇā jṛmbhitaḥ śakraḥ sadyas tandrām avāpa ca" BVP 21.170.

(a) ix- RĀSAKRĪDĀ (the dance with Gopīs).

(b) BP 189, 1–45; VP 13; PP 272. 158–180 (i. e. after x) and (xi b below); HV 77; BVP 28–53; BhP 29–33.

(c) On a clear moonlit-night, Kṛṣṇa went to the grove of trees, where his sweet music drew all the young girls towards him; they were enraptured to see him alone, there, and many kissed him, with great passion in their heart. Kṛṣṇa then had a beautiful Rāsa–a dance–in which all his friends partook; the girls thus used to visit him at night time, though they were prevented from doing so, by the men of their houses.

(d) BP, VP, and HV, insert before this, a talk between Kṛṣṇa and his friends, where the latter are wondering whether he is a God or some supernatural being, Kṛṣṇa asking them to take him as he was. After the Gopīs had crowded round him, Kṛṣṇa abruptly disappeared, when they sought after him; and after his return, the dance came off, where Kṛṣṇa alone danced with all. HV omits the dance, and states that the Gopīs were mad after Kṛṣṇa, trying to touch his limbs with theirs, and do all such acts of passion. PP mentions actual sexual intercourse, and questioned by Pārvatī, Rudra justifies Kṛṣṇa's amours by stating that the whole world was the God's body and there was thus no fault, with Kṛṣṇa. It also gives a story of old that the sages of the forest Daṇḍaka wishing for a sexual union with Rāma, were born as Gopīs and satisfied by Kṛṣṇa; BhP follows the details of BP, omitting only the talk between Kṛṣṇa and his friends, while BVP which is mainly meant to glorify Rādhā, is now in its real element, and devote a great portion to describing the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and with other girls. Having, at adh. 28, enjoyed all the girls, he leaves them in adh. 29, and goes with Rādhā alone. Adh. 30 is devoted to the story of Aṣṭāvakra; adh. 31–51 to talk between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, after which the two return at adh. 52 where it is stated that the sports went on for one month, and this brings the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa to an end: "uktam kiśoracaritam..." BVP 53. 53.

(e) BP 199. 6, 42 = HV 77. 4071,4087 respectively. (v. 1. in HV) "Mṛgayante" for 'ramayanti'; while VP inserts 17 stanzas: One

passage of 11 stanzas, giving the different marks of Kṛṣṇa, which the girls are tracing, to find him out; this piece being substituted for one st. of BP. Other insertions are: one of 2 st. 'Gopīs thinking of Kṛṣṇa and second of 4 St. 'Gopis acting Kṛṣṇa'. The nature of additional matter in VP will thus be clear. A comparison of the total of adhs. and stanzas in VP and BP, for this story as a whole shows an excess of 6 adhs. and 153 stanzas in VP.

(a) x--ARIṢṬA, THE BULL.

(b) BP 189. 46-58; VP 14; PP 272. 144-149 ab; HV 78; BVP 16. 14-19; BhP 36. 1-15.

(c) One evening, a Bull--an Asura named Ariṣṭa-came and attacked the cow-shed, the boys and girls being frightened, ran to Kṛṣṇa, who fought with it, and killed it.

(d) BP and VP states that Kṛṣṇa, was, at this time, engaged in dancing (Rāsāsakte), HV saying that he was amorously sporting, (Ratiparāyaṇe) while according to PP, he was playing with the girls, some childish games. HV, which has whole stanzas agreeing with BP text, seems to have a different reading, here. BhP does not give any clue to say how Kṛṣṇa was engaged. While all other sources agree, in saying that the bull was killed with a horn, rooted out from its head, PP states that it was killed with a palm tree, struck between its horns. For BVP, see above, under (vii), where the bull is named Pralamba.

(e) BP. 189. 46=HV 78. 4099; BPT 56cd, 57=HV 4118, 4119ab. (with some v. I.).

BhP inserts between the incidents (ix) and (x) adhs 34: Nanda relieved from the grasp of a serpent by Kṛṣṇa; Śaṅkhacūḍa, a follower of Kubera, tried to take away some of the girls, when they cried for help and Kṛṣṇa killed him. 35: Gopīs singing in praise of Kṛṣṇa, while he was away.

(a) xi--KAṀSA ON THE ALERT.

Except in the case of Pūtanā, where she is shown to be an emissary of Kaṁsa, all other attacks against Kṛṣṇa, come as accidents; at least, Kaṁsa's agency in bringing these about, is not mentioned. But we now come to a point where Kaṁsa is

directly concerned. Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the text, this incident has to be divided into three sub-units ;—(A) Akrūra on the mission, (B) Keśi, the horse, and (C) with Akrūra to Mathurā. Last is, in fact, a continuation of the first, and the horse incident, has practically no bearing on Akrūra's mission: but the majority of sources, insert the incident (B), as shown here, and only some, as will be shown below, point it in proper context ; so we follow the course generally accepted.

(A) AKRŪRA ON THE MISSION.

(b) BP 190. 1–21 : VP 15. 1-24 ; PP. 272. 217cd-230 ; HV 79, 80 ; BVP 63-65, BhP 36. 16-34; DBh 24. 1-9.

(c) when Kṛṣṇa had performed the feats, as described above, Nārada came to Kaṁsa and told him of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his life among the cowherds. Kaṁsa, thereupon, thinking of his own safety, asked Akrūra, Dānapati, Master of charities, to go to Gokula, and fetch the boys Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. for the festivities of Dhanuryāga, that were going to be celebrated shortly.

(d) According to HV, the interview between Kaṁsa and Nārada comes off in the Khaṭvāṅga grove, and then he called off a full court, where he upbraids Vasudeva for having deceived him, and then sends Akrūra on the mission. In BP and VP, Kaṁsa says to Akrūra, that he would kill all Yādavas, except Akrūra, who was his friend. In BVP, Kaṁsa consults purohita Satyaka, a disciple of Śukra, telling, him of the bad dreams that haunted him. Satyaka advises Akrūra, Uddhava or Vasudeva to be sent to Nandavraja. Last person refused, when Kaṁsa went to kill him with a sword, but was kept away by others, and Akrūra was sent away. While according to BhP, Kaṁsa first orders arrangements for the festival and then sends away Akrūra who replies to the boasts of Kaṁsa, that Fate was final in all matters, DBh says that Kaṁsa was informed of the festivities in Gokula, and his doubts were confirmed by Nārada, so he sent for the boys to be killed under pretext of the Dhanuryāga.

(e) Vij. after Kaṁsa's orders for the festival, inserts a passage of 32 stanzas, where he tells his Mahāmātra of his illicit birth, and consequent hatred for all Yādavas. BVP devotes

adhs. 66-69 to Kṛṣṇa's amors with Rādhā when he is called back by Brahmā.

(B) KEŚĪ, THE HORSE.

(b) BP 190. 22-48 ; VP 16. 1-28 ; PP. 149-157 ; HV 81 ; BVP 16. 20-74 ; BhP 37. 1-25.

(c) Keśī, a demon in the form of a horse, frightened the people of Gokula, when Kṛṣṇa attacked him, and putting his hand in the horse's mouth, drew away the teeth, and tore him in two, which felled him to the ground, dead. At this time, Nārada came to see Kṛṣṇa and told him that the horse was very powerful, and his death gave him the name Keśava ; Nārada then left Kṛṣṇa, promising to see him again the next day at the festive occasion in Mathurā.

(d) HV states that Kaṁsa sent for Keśī, and gave him the mission of killing Kṛṣṇa, while, further on, the Gopas tell Kṛṣṇa[1] that he was a brother (?) of Kaṁsa, and dear to him as life ; BP, VP, and BhP state only that he was sent by Kaṁsa : ' Kaṁsa-dūtaḥ pracoditaḥ ' BP, VP ; 'Kaṁsaprahitaḥ' BhP ; PP states that Kṛṣṇa killed the horse with a stroke of his fist, on its head. The interview between Kṛṣṇa and Nārada is not found in PP and BVP, while HV states[2] that the sage was speaking from the sky, unseen. DBh mentions[3] the death of Keśī, without any details, as having saddened Kaṁsa.

(e) The order of incidents here, is different in PP, and BVP as compared with other sources : PP has, Ariṣṭa, Keśī, Rāsa dance, Indra festival, and Akrūra's despatch ; while BVP places ' Baka, the crane, Pralamba, the bull, and Keśī, ' before the shift of Gokula settlement, adding that these three and one other, Vasudeva, were gandharvas, devotees of Kṛṣṇa, who took lotuses from the reserved pond of Pārvati for worship, and were, according to the punishment laid down, turned into demons, but restored to their former life by the sight of Kṛṣṇa. BhP inserts, after this,

1 " Eṣa Kaṁsasya sahajaḥ prāṇās tasya bahiścarāḥ." HV 81. 4294.

2 " Athāhāntarhito vipro Nāradaḥ khagamo muniḥ. " HV 81. 4331.

3 " Tathā vinihataḥ Keśī jñātvā Kaṁsotidurmanāḥ. " DBh 24. 8.

one-other incident : 37. 26–33, where Vyoma a son of Maya, disguised as a cow-boy takes away the Gopas, who are then relieved by Kṛṣṇa.

(C) WITH AKRŪRA TO MATHURĀ.

(b) BP 191. 191. 1-192. 67 ; VP 17. 1-19. 9 ; PP 272. 231–330 ; HV 82-34 ; BVP 70. 1-72. 14 ; BhP 31. 1-41. 6.

(c) Akrūra reached Gokula in the evening, where he saw Kṛṣṇa with other boys and cattle. He was greatly pleased to see the God incarnate and approaching humbled himself before Kṛṣṇa, who received him with great respect, and took him home to Nanda, where Akrūra, after refreshing himself, delivered his message, asking the cowherds to attend with milk and other presents for the festival, and accordingly, having rested at night, he left in the morning with the boys in his chariot. They reached Yamunā, where, while bathing in the waters, Akrūra had a divine vision of the god whom he prayed devotedly ; on reaching Mathurā, the boys, as they wished, were left alone, and Akrūra returned home.

(d) According to PP, Akrūra here tells Nanda, the secret of Kṛṣṇa's birth, how the girl flying from Kaṁsa's hands, told him of his approaching death, and how this led Kaṁsa to send his agents, who were killed by Kṛṣṇa, and how even the present occasion was intended to do away with Kṛṣṇa. This news frightened Nanda and others, who were then addressed by Kṛṣṇa, who told them that he would kill Kaṁsa. In HV, Akrūra exhorts Kṛṣṇa on behalf of Devakī and Vasudeva, whom he should see, as was his duty to relieve them from the pain of separation. All the above sources, except HV, state that the girls of the place were sorry at the approaching separation and afraid that Kṛṣṇa would not return, wanted to oppose Akrūra, while according to BVP, they do it actually, and break down the chariot of Akrūra, who is soon relieved by Kṛṣṇa. PP says that Akrūra rubbed the feet of Kṛṣṇa, while he was sleeping at night. HV states that Akrūra took the boys to his house in Mathurā and asked them not to see their parents, as it would displease Kaṁsa ; Kṛṣṇa replied that they would go seeing the city and do it without anyone's know-

ing it. DBh makes a brief story of the life of Kṛṣṇa, without entering into any details. HV contains a very beautiful description of the evening and morning, in this passage.

This brings the main unit VIII : 'Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlement,' with its (xi) subunits, to an end. All these eleven incidents cannot be attributed to Kaṁsa's agency, and 'Indra festival' and the moonlight dance ' as also the 'Kāliya' have nothing to do with Kaṁsa, so we have to take the unit VIII as denoting a period, instead of a single incident.

IX. KṚṢṆA, THE DEATH OF KAṀSA.

(b) BP 192. 194. 17 ; VP 19. 10-21 17 ; PP 272. 33I-293 ; HV 84-89 ; BVP 12. 15-115 ; BhP 41. 7-45. 23.

(c) Kṛṣṇa's arrival in Mathurā, and the subsequent death of Kaṁsa, is here treated as one whole incident, which can be arranged in the following order of minor ones :—

(1) Kaṁsa's washerman killed by Kṛṣṇa, because he would not give his clothes to the brothers.

(2) The flower-merchant, impressed by the boys, offered them flowers, and got their blessings in return.

(3) Haunch-back maid–' Kubjā '–offered sandalpaste to Kṛṣṇa, and was made straight right by him, who also promised to visit her house.

(4) The two brothers visited the armoury, where Kṛṣṇa broke a great bow, put down the watchmen that came to oppose him, and left the place.

These are the incidents of the evening that saw the boys in Mathurā. No complete agreement exists as to their place of sojourn at night. Kaṁsa learnt of these mischiefs, and determined to bring about the end of the boys, somehow or other, ordered his wrestlers Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika to kill the boys, in course of the dual, also arranged that his mad elephant ' Kuvalayāpīḍa ' should be kept, at the entrance, ready to attack the boys, and then awaited sunrise, keeping awake the whole night anxiously.

Next morning, when the whole of the place was full of spectators, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma entered the arena, after killing the

elephant, and while the spectators were looking on in wonder, Kṛṣṇa fought Cāṇura and Rāma with Muṣṭika ; after the death of the two wrestlers, Kṛṣṇa fought another Tośalaka, and when this too met his death, others fled away in fright, whereupon Kaṁsa, mad at seeing all his plans failed, ordered all the Yādavas, and the boys to be made captives ; Kṛṣṇa ran to Kaṁsa and pulling him down from his seat, killed him ; while Kaṁsa was being dragged to death, his guard Sunāma, ran to defend him, but was despatched by Rāma.

The brothers, then saw their parents and bowed to them in reverence, Vasudeva and Devakī glad at their reunion with the boys, fondly welcomed Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.

Kṛṣṇa then reestablished Ugrasena on the throne, and restored peace to all the people of Mathurā.

(d) HV gives ' Guṇaka, ' and BhP ' Sudāma, ' as the name of the flower-merchant. BVP, which devotes some stanzas to describe the city, saying that it was done by Viśvakarmā, changes the order of incidents, and starts with Kubjā, who is described[1] as ' extremely old, ' and made young and beautiful by the mere sight of Kṛṣṇa[2] ; after her comes the Mālākāra, and then the Rājaka, who refers to his amorous sport in Vṛndāvana. HV gives here, the talk between Kaṁsa and his Mahāmātra, giving a story of the former's birth, which BhP transposes, and places before the mission was entrusted to Akrūra. PP states that Kṛṣṇa stayed for the night in the sacrificial hall, with his followers ; according to BVP, Nanda, Kṛṣṇa and others stayed with Kuvinda, a Vaiṣṇava of the city, whence, when all others were asleep, Kṛṣṇa visited Kubjā, in secret, and telling her that she was the former Śūrpaṇakhā, gave her sexual satisfaction. BhP states[3] that the brothers returned to their camp, a place probably outside the city, where Nanda and other cowherds, had kept the carts for the night.

HV states that Kaṁsa was dressed in white, for the occasion of the festival. BVP gives the breaking of the bow as an inci-

1. "...Vṛddhām ati Jarāturām ..." BVP 72.16.
2. "Śrī Kṛṣṇadṛṣṭimātreṇa...Yathā dvādaśavarṣīyā..." opp. cit 72.22.
3. "...Purāt Śakaṭamīyatuḥ," BHP 42.23.

dent of the morning. The description of the wrestling match in HV 87 4716-21, compares well with that in Mbh IV.13.27-31 abcd describing the fight between Bhīma and Jīmūta; in fact, the *text* of these times is the *same* in both the places. BhP adds Kūṭa and Śala to the list of wrestlers, saying that the first was disposed of by Rāma, and the second by Kṛṣṇa. It also states[1] that Kaṁsa had eight brothers, 'Kaṅka, Nyagrodhaka' etc. who were despatched by Rāma with his weapon parigha, after Kaṁsa was killed. According to PP[2], Kaṁsa was sitting on the top of his palace, whence he was thrown down by Kṛṣṇa, while others state that Kaṁsa was dragged by his hair, from his seat, and killed by Kṛṣṇa ; while BVP states that Kṛṣṇa did this 'as in sport'. BP and VP give the prayer by Vasudeva addressed to Kṛṣṇa as God. BhP mentions that Kṛṣṇa used his Māyā to make his parents forget his real form, others stating that the boys saw their parents and were embraced by them with great affection.

(e) In the aftermath PP states that Nanda and other cowherds were sent back with presents, while BVP gives a long discourse at adhs.73-90, wherein Nanda is consoled by Kṛṣṇa with various stories, discussion on Dharma, and Adharma, dreams etc. and after this Uddhava is sent to Gokula to solace Yaśodā, Rādhā and others, Nanda staying on with Kṛṣṇa[4]. Adhs. 92-97 are allotted to Uddhava's misson to Gokula, where he promises Rādhā to send back Kṛṣṇa, which on his return to Mathurā, he reports duly, at adh. 98, when Kṛṣṇa says that he could not fulfil the promise, still he would pay the visit, in a dream, as he did.[5] HV gives the wailing of Kaṁsa's wives at adh.88, and in the next, Ugrasena offers the throne to Kṛṣṇa, which he humbly refuses, and crowns Ugrasena. BhP gives some stanzas in which Kṛṣṇa consoles Nanda and sends him to Gokula, promising,[6] to pay them a visit, which promise, however, curiously enough, is not fulfilled.

1. "Taṭyānujā bhrātaroṣṭau...1...40 ; tāṅstu saṁyattān Rohiṇīsutaḥ ı Ahan parigham udyamya..." BhP 44.
2. Apātayat dharāprṣṭhe prāsādaśikharād Hariḥ PP 272,380.
3. Ākṛṣya mañcakāt Kaṁsaṃ jaghāna līlayā mune" BVP 72.93.
4. Op. cit adh. 91.
5. Harir jagāma svapne ca Gokulaṁ virahākulam. Op. cit 98.42.
6. Jñātīn vo draṣṭum eṣyāmo vidhāya suhṛdām sukham BhP 45,23.

(a) X. SAṂDĪPANĪ, THE TUTOR.

(b) BP 194.18-22; VP 81.18-31; PP 273.1-5; HV 90; BVP 99-102; BhP 45.26-50.

(c) Rāma and Kṛṣṇa then approached Kāśya Sāṁdīpanī of the city of Avantī, and learnt from him the science of archery. As fees, Kṛṣṇa brought back to life the tutor's son, long dead at sea, and gave him great pleasure. The child was taken by Pañcajana, a demon living in a conch at sea; Kṛṣṇa killed the demon, getting for himself the conch known afterwards as Pāñcajanya, and bringing back the son, the brothers then returned to Mathurā.

(d) Upanayana of the boys, essential for one to make 'twice-born' is mentioned in PP, BVP and BhP, where Garga initiated them into the sacred Gāyatrī. HV states that Kṛṣṇa was, by now, become young : 'Prāptayauvanadehaḥ.' BP, VP, HV and BhP mention the period of study as 64 days, while BVP gives it as one month, and omits any reference to the revival of the tutor's son, stating[1] that it was Sāṁdīpanī, who initiated the boys in the sacred Gāyatrī, and that among the persons who attended the cermony, were, besides, heavenly gods, Nanda and Yaśodā, and the widow Kuntī with her sons.

(e) DBh 24.15 states that after their return from their tutor the boys were 12 years' old. After this incident BhP at adh. 46,47, inserts Uddhava's mission in Gokula, which BVP places before (vide IX c. above), and at the next two adhs. (48,49), Kṛṣṇa, after visiting the haunchback maid, sends Akrūra to get news of the Pāṇḍavās, which news discloses the ill-will of Dhṛtarāṣṭra towards his nephews. This is, of course, an effort to set the life of Kṛṣṇa, in the MBh context, a feature found only in this Purāṇa.

(a) XI. JARĀSAṂDHA, THE LORD OF MAGADHA.

This incident, giving (i) the repeated attacks of this powerful king, on Mathurā, includes, also, (ii) the struggle with and the death of Kālayavana ; notes are accordingly divided into two parts, below.

1. "Gāyatrīm ca dadau tābhyām munih Sāṁdīpanistathā" BVP 101-14.

(b)-(i) BP 195; VP 22; PP 273.6.33; HV 91-99; BVP mere reference in one line;-"Vijitya ca jarāsaṁdham nihatya yavanam tathā" 103.13; BhP 50.1-43, 52.6-14.

(ii)-BP 196.1-197.7; VP 23.1-24.7; PP 273.33-70; HV (100-109, re. other incidents, see below) 110-116; BVP mere reference ; BhP 50.44-52.5.

(c)-(i)-Jarāsaṁdha, the father-in-law of Kaṁsa, laid siege to the city of Mathurā, with a large army, 23 Akṣauhiṇīs strong, but Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, armed with their divine weapons, completely defeated Jarāsaṁdha, and put him to flight, this attack and defeat was repeated 18 times.

(ii) Kālayavana, another powerful king, then attacked Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa tired of these frequent troubles, secretly removed all the people of the city to Dvārakā, and then singlehanded, began to fly, pursued by the Yavana king; Kṛṣṇa entered a cave where Mucakunda, of the solar race of kings, was sleeping soundly. Having had a boon from the gods above, that whoever disturbed the warrior in his sleep, would be burnt down the moment his eyes were cast open the victim; Kṛṣṇa hid himself behind this sleeping warrior, and Yavana following, thought the sleeping person to be no other than Kṛṣṇa himself and kicked Mucakunda, who awaking, looked at the offender, who was immediately turned to ashes. Kṛṣṇa then reconciled himself with Mucakunda and left for Dvārakā.

(d)-(i) PP gives the army of Jarāsaṁdha, as '100 Ākṣauhiṇīs strong, HV giving this number as 20, which was destroyed by Kṛṣṇa alone. HV 91 and BhP, in the Vij. Recn. gives a list of kings in the army of Jarāsaṁdha, HV mentioning Duryodhana and other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra among them. These two sources dsscribe the siege laid at the four gates of Mathurā, as also the details of the fight at these gates. BhP, Vij. Recn., in the inserted adhs. here, states that Jarāsaṁdha returned after three months, having had help from the Asura Bāṇa, and was defeated, thus, for 17 times and last time, the instigation to Kālayavana, by Jarāsaṁdha, is mentioned in HV, PP ; and BhP states that Kāla. was instigated by Nārada, and seeing the attack on one side by this Kāla, and on the other, by Jarāsaṁdha, Kṛṣṇa removed his

people to Dvārakā. According to HV and BhP vij. Kṛṣṇa betakes himself with Rāma, to the hill Gomanta, where he is pursued by Jarāsaṁdha, who set fire to the hill and returned satisfied that Kṛṣṇa was dead in the fire. This last, as in BhP Vij. while HV states that Kṛṣṇa suppressed the hill, in the seawaters by forcing his feet, and then both the brothers sprang in the army of Jarāsaṁdha, and defeated it. Those two sources HV and BhP also mention the defeat and death of Śṛgāla Vāsudeva of Karavīrapura, by the brothers, on their way to the hill. BVP gives this last incident of Śṛgāla, at its adh. 121, where he challenged Kṛṣṇa, and was killed, adding that he was Subhadra, a door-keeper of the God, cursed by Lakṣmī.

BP, VP and HV give a story of the birth of Kālayavana from the sage Garga, who was once insulted by some one calling him, an eunuch, which sent the sage to penance in the forests. and his subsequent entertainment by a childless Yavana king; the latter's wife, being united with Garga, brought out this Kāla. HV, at adhs. 111, 112 gives the mission sent by Jarāsaṁdha, through Śālva. asking the Yavana king to attack Mathurā, which he agrees to, and adh. 113 being allotted to the reception of Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā, the shifting to Dvārkā comes off in the next adhyāya, so that, at adh. 116, HV reverts to the birthstory of Kāla. where Nārada points to him the Yādavas as fit to be fought with, and, in answer to Kṛṣṇa's challenge of a serpent sent in a jar, the Yavana kills it by ants. According to BP, VP and PP, Kṛṣṇa asked 12 yojanas (30 in PP) of land, from the sea, and there built the city. HV (adh. 113) states that Garuḍa found out the place : DBh agreeing with HV, adds that Kṛṣṇa afterwards reformed the old city : " Śilpibhiḥ kārayāmāsa jīrṇoddhāram. " 24. 31. While BVP, at adh. 103 asks for 100 yojanas of land from the sea and gives instructions to Viśvakarman to build the city in the most gorgeous style, without using any wood material- Kuru kāṣṭham vinā Purīm 103. 68 "; next adh. 104 describes the unwillingness of Ugrasena to leave Mathurā, the place of his forefathers, his being persuaded by Kṛṣṇa to shift. The incident about the solar king Mucakunda burning Kālayavana, being thus altogether omitted from this source. HV too, gives at

adh. 116, the building of Dvārakā by Viśvakarman, mentioning the hall Sudharmā for holding the court, which hall, by the bye, was, according to BP and VP, ordered for, by Kṛṣṇa, from Indra through Vāyu, the incident being mentioned as coming off immediately after Ugrasena's establishment to the throne of Mathurā,- PP 274. 8, and BhP 50. 55, refer to Indra's voluntarily giving the hall, latter source having stated, at 50, that Dvāraka was a fort ' Durga, ' built in the midst of seawaters ; ' Antaḥ samudre. '

(e) The usual MBh refrain ' na prājñayata kiṁcana ' used in describing fights, is found at PP 272. 19d ; Daśa cāṣṭau ca saṁgrāman ' BP 195. 11a = HV 93. 5126a. This incident, of Jarāsaṁdha's invasions, is referred to at MBh II. 19, where Kṛṣṇa persuades the Pāṇḍavas to take up his cause, and, as if to reserve this Magadha king for a death from Bhīma, PP and HV, which in the course of describing the battle, give a duel between Jarāsaṁdha and Rāma, where the latter overpowers the former, and while about to dispose him off for good, is prevented from doing so, by a word of the sky, according to HV, and by Kṛṣṇa himself according to PP.

(a) XII. BALARĀMA IN GOKULA.

(b) BP 197.8—198.19 ; VP 24.8-25.19 ; PP 374. 10-12 ; HV 103 : BVP 106. 1-9 ; BhP 65.

(c) Balarāma paid a visit to Gokula, where he passed some days happily in the company of Gopīs ; while rambling in forests, he took to the habit of drinking. In his sojourn here, he drew the river Yamunā with his plough towards him. After two months, he returned to Mathurā, and there married the princess Revatī, and from her he had two sons, Niśaṭha and Utsuka.

(d) BP and VP mention that God Varuṇa had sent Vāruṇī for the pleasure of Rāma and then she appeared in Kadamba tree, while HV states that the cowherds offered him wine, as befitting the occasion, and Rāma drank of it in company with the Gopas and Gopīs. PP and BVP omit this incident mentioning only the marriage with Revatī. BhP takes this incident of Rāma's trip to Gokula after the Bāṇāsura episode, and there combines

the two accounts about wine,[1] mentioning the marriage incident long long back, at adh. 52. 15, after Jarāsaṁdha's burning the hill, where Vij. inserts an account of king Revata, the father of the bride, having gone to heaven to consult God Brahmā, who points to Balarāma as the fitting bridegroom. The bride was born in Ādi-yuga, and very tall, but Rāma made her short by means of his plough. Vij. also inserts before 52. 15, a MBh reference where Kṛṣṇa, hearing of the defeat of Drupada by the Pāṇḍavas, sends Kṛtavarmā, to get news from Hastināpura. BVP states[2] that she was 27 ages old, but does not refer to her tallness. HV mentions the marriage at the end of adh. 116, after the Yādavas were established in Dvārakā.

HV clearly states that the Yamunā, which was flowing at a distance, was drawn and made to flow through the fields of Vṛndāvana, a feat of which Rāma is rightly proud. The names of the sons of Rāma are given in PP and VP.

(a) XIII KṚṢṆA'S MARRIAGE WITH RUKMIṆĪ.

(b) BP 199. 1–11 ; VP 26. 1–11 ; PP 274. 13–275. 19 ; HV 104–109 ; 117, 118 ; BVP 105–109 ; BhP 52. 16–54. 60 (other sources, also mention this incident with a few details).

(c) Bhīṣmaka, king of Kuṇḍinapura, in Vidarbha, wished to marry his daughter Rukmiṇī to Kṛṣṇa, but Rukmī, the brother of the bride, influenced by Jarāsaṁdha, offered her to Śiśupāla of the Cedis ; Kṛṣṇa with his retinue, came to attend the marriage ceremony as a spectator, and took away the bride, defeating Rukmī and his partisans, who pursued to fight with him.

(d) PP inserts here a son of the Purohita, BVP a Brāhmaṇa Sudharmā, and BhP *some* Brāhmaṇa 'Āptam dvijam kamcit,' as being sent by Rukmiṇī–by Bhīṣmaka, according to BVP,–with a message to Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā. HV, by giving the incident in two places, has created some inconsistency in the thread of the narrative, at adh. 104, Kṛṣṇa hears of the proposed Svayaṁvara of Rukmiṇī, and proceeds, properly attended to the place of selection. In the adhs. following, 105-109, Rukmī and his friends are

1 " Varuṇapreṣitā devī vāruṇī vṛkṣakoṭarāt, patantī BhP 65. 19.

2 " vayo yasyā gatam satyam yugānām saptaviṁśatiḥ, " BVP 106. 3.

disconcerted at Kṛṣṇa's appearance, but he is well received by Kaiśika, and is ultimatrly crowned on the throne of Vidarbha by the same prince, and Jarāsaṁdha and Sunitha, who objected to Kṛṣṇa's presence, were formally reconciled with Kṛṣṇa, who returns to Mathurā, without the Svayaṁvara coming off, apparently. Adhs. 110-115, are devoted to Kālayavana story, and Dvārakā is built at adh. 116, and then at 117, we see the story of Rukmiṇī taken up again, where apparently, the question of choice is put aside, and Jarāsaṁdha, with the influence of other kings resolves upon the marriage of Rukmiṇī with the Cedi prince Śiśupāla. The usual questioning of Janamejaya, as to who Rukmī was etc. which should rightly have come at the beginning at adh. 104, is seen here quite out of place. Then comes her abduction by Kṛṣṇa, the defeat of Rukmī etc. as is told in BP accounts. In BVP Kṛṣṇa is accompanied by Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Pāṇḍavas etc. and has a fight with Rukmī, Śālva etc., at the gates of Kuṇḍinapura, and after their defeat, is received by Bhīṣmaka in the palace court and subsequently married to Rukmiṇī, whose mother Subhadrā, weeps at the departure of the couple to Dvārakā. PP mentions the worship of Durgā by the bride previous to the marriage, HV, of Indrāṇī, and BhP of Bhavānī, in a temple outside the city, from where she was taken away by Kṛṣṇa leaving Rāma and other Yādavas to fight with the pursuers. Vij Recn. inserting some stanzas, states that Rukmī overtook Kṛṣṇa while he was crossing the river Narmadā. In describing the marriage, PP and BVP state that Nanda, with his men, had come to attend the ceremony. BVP adding, at adh. 110, 111 that Yaśodā asked for Tattvajñāna, and Kṛṣṇa tells her to have it from Nanda; Yaśodā going to see Rādhā, who tells her that Kṛṣṇa was the Lord God, and engages herself in meditation.

(a) XIV. PRADYUMNA AND ŚAMBARA.

(b) BP 199.12–200, 30; VP 26,12–27.31; PP 277.2 (mere reference, while introducing the Uṣā story); HV 163–167, after the Pārijāta incident; BVP 112.1–33; BhP 55. 1–40; DBh 24. 43–25. 24.

(c) Rukmiṇī gave birth to a son who was taken away, by the demon Śambara, on the sixth day of the child's birth; the child was reared up by Māyāvatī, the wife of the Asura, and when came

of age, she had a passion for the young boy, the reason being that she was Ratī, wife of Cupid, who was now born as Pradyumna, who, of course, upon knowing the facts, killed the Asura in fight and returned to Dvārakā with his wife, where he was joyfully received by his parents, who were told of the facts by Nārada.

(d) BP, VP and BhP state that the child was thrown into the sea, where it was swallowed by a fish, which was caught, and brought to Māyāvatī, who, upon cutting the fish, saw the child, when Nārada told her of the incidents of her former life, saying that the child was her busband, and should be reared up. HV and BVP state that it was taken on the seventh day, and Śambara, of his own accord, gave it to his wife Māyā, who was awakened to the former things, by inspiration according to HV, by Sarasvatī according to BVP ; HV gives a long description of the fight where Pradyumna, first kills the warriors of Śamabara, and finally the Asura himself. Pradyumna is, here, helped by Indra, who sends Nārada with the Vaiṣṇavāstra, and armour, when the Asura, having failed in his Māyās–illusive powers,–was about to hurl his powerfull Mudgara given him by goddess Umā. Pradyumna, under the advice of the sage, prays to Durgā, and by her favour, the large mace is turned into a garland of flowers, on the neck of the young hero. According to BVP, which, substitutes wind for Nārada, as messenger. asking to pray Durgā, which turns the *Śūla* into flowers, the Asura was killed by Brahmāstra; while in BhP, Pradyumna cuts off the head of Śambara, by a *sword*. In BVP alone the fight comes off as a consequence of the young hero being detected in the course of amour with the Asura's wife. Other sources state that Pradyumna, on knowing of his birth calls on the Asura for a fight, while HV, dealing with details, states that the challenge was given by bringing down the flag–staff of the Asura with an arrow from the hero.

(e) Vij. Recn. inserts 3 stanzas, at the beginning of BhP 55, to state that Kṛṣṇa, got this son, as a favour from the God Śiva, who was pleased by Kṛṣṇa's penance. In DBh, Kṛṣṇa grieves at the loss of the child, and upon praying to the Devī, the Goddess shows him the traces, which lead to the recovery of the boy.

(a) XV KṚṢṆA'S OTHER WIVES AND CHILDREN.

(A) Besides Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa married seven other wives; of these, Kṛṣṇa won (1) Satyabhāmā, and (2) Jāmbavatī, in the affair of the Syamantaka diamond, mentioned at PP.276.1–37; BVP 122; BhP 56, 57; VyP 96.20–98: other sources give only the names of all these, and their progeny: BP 201.15; VP 28.1–5; HV 118.6696 ff., BhP giving details about others, too, at adh. 58: (3) Kālindī daughter of the Sun, seen by Kṛṣṇa while he was walking in company with Arjuna, on the banks of the river Yamunā; she had decided to marry no other, and was accepted by Kṛṣṇa. (4) Mitravindā, a cousin-a daughter of the Pitṛṣvasā- of Kṛṣṇa, was, knowing her love for him, carried away against the will of her brothers Vindānuvinda, friends of Duryodhana. (5) Satyā, daughter of king Nagnajita, was won by defeating seven powerful bulls. (6) Bhadrā, daughter of Śrutakīrti, and a cousin of Kṛṣṇa, was offered him by her brothers, and accepted in marriage; (7) Lakṣmaṇā, princess of Madra, was in 'Svayaṁvara', carried away by Kṛṣṇa. There is some difference in the names of these wives, as found in other sources. BP, VP and agreeing with these HV, give: Kālindī, Mitravindā, Satyā of Nagnajit, Jāmbavatī, *Rohinī*, *Suśīlā*, daughter of Madrarāja, Satyabhāma, and Lakṣmaṇā. HV adding with regard to the last that she was the daughter of Śaibya; while PP, after concluding the Syamanta story with a line of Phalaśruti, states that three of these wives were daughters of Madrarāja, and in the list that follows at adh. 276.40–41, substitutes Suśīlā for Bhadrā and prefixes '*Su*' to Lakṣmaṇā. DBh list at adh. 24. 40–41 agrees with BhP.

(B) Kṛṣṇa's killing Narakāsura, in a fight, at the request of Indra, gained him 16000 maidens, whom he married. This incident brought about another, in which Kṛṣṇa going to heaven brought the tree Pārijāta, for his wife Satyabhāmā. Both these are given in the different sources as follows:—

BP 202–204; VP 29–31; PP 276. 42–110; HV 121–135; BVP 112. 37–41, and 113. 41; BhP 59. DBh. 25. 25–27 (om. Naraka); BP 69. 81, 82 (om. Pārijāta). It is interesting to note here, that while BP, VP, and PP give comparatively equal space to both these incidents, HV attaches greater length to the second; BVP makes very

small business of both, giving them only in different references: BhP disposes of Pārijāta in 3 st. (59. 38-40) only, and the minor sources DBh and LP barely mention one, omitting the other altogether. This shows a tendency in each, to dilate upon, or shorten the incident according to the will of the author. Vij. to make up for the shortcoming of the original, inserts, after BhP 59, three adhs. giving a detailed description of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the gods, in the Pārijāta affair, where a stanza 65. 10, is seen to be framed after the text of BP 203. 24. PP inserts a talk between Naraka and Kṛṣṇa, where the former puts as his last prayer that people performing auspicious bath on the day of his death,–now popularly known as 'Narakacaturdaśī,'– should be exempt from hell. As regards, the tree itself, PP states that Satyabhāmā was insulted by Śacī, not offering her the flowers of the tree, and asked her Lord Kṛṣṇa to take the tree away, who agreed[1] that it should be on the earth till his life-time, while HV shows Nārada as root of the quarrel, as he brought a flower of the tree, and gave it to Rukmiṇī, when Satyabhāmā was enraged, and Kṛṣṇa, to satisfy her, sent word to Indra, through Nārada, and upon being rejected,–Indra here refers to the Khāṇḍava incident of the MBh, as one having occurred long back (cf. " Khāṇḍave cārjunaratham *purā* vāhayatā ... " HV 129. 7300)–went on to fight, and that the tree was to remain on the earth for[2] a year only, when it was offered along with Kṛṣṇa, by Satyabhāmā, to Nārada, in fulfillment of a 'vrata,' while BhP states,[3] that it was planted in the court yard of Satyabhāmā, without giving the period.

(C) Kṛṣṇa had a number of children from all these wives and had thus a very large family. Rukmiṇī is said to have 10 sons, and a daughter, Pradyumna being the first of all; the extent of all is given at BP 205. 1-5; VP 32, 1-5; HV at the end of the adh. 118 and with more details at adh. 162; BhP 61. 1-19; BVP 112. 36-41; of these BhP gives the largest number of names, BP, VP and HV giving only the names of the sons of Rukmiṇī, and BVP taking her as the model,[4] putting ten sons and a daughter

1 Mayi svargam gate śakra grahāṇa tvam yathecchayā, PP 276. 106.

2 *Saṁvatsare* tato yāte... pārijātam punaḥ svargam anayat. HV 135. 7711.

3 Sthāpitaḥ Satyabhāmāyā gṛhodyānopaśobhanaḥ, BhP 59. 40.

4 " Ekasyām daśa putrāś ca kanyakaikā krameṇa ca " BVP 112. 40.

for *each* of these wives, all concluding that the total number was very large.

BP 201. 6-25 ; VP 28. 6-28 ; HV 119 ; and BhP 61. 20-40 —first two after (A), and last two after (C),—give an incident, as connected with the family account, where Kṛṣṇa, with all his family and relations,had gone to attend the marriage of Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna, with the grand-daughter of Rukmī. After the ceremony was over, Rukmī, at the instigatson of Kaliṅga, and others, proposed to play at dice with Balarāma, knowing that he was not an expert, and won all the bets on two days, when the Kaliṅga prince laughed, showing his teeth, and Rukmī too, joined in the ridicule. On the third day the bet proceeded, and in the discussion as to who won it, a word from the heaven decided in favour of Rāma, who to revenge the insult, drew away the teeth of Kaliṅga and killed Rukmī with Aṣṭapāda, putting others to flight. Kṛṣṇa afraid of a clash between Rāma and Rukmiṇī, kept silent over the incident and returned to Dvārakā.

HV states,[1] that Rāma himself told Kṛṣṇa of the incident ; BhP states,[2] that Rāma killed Rukmī with an uplifted *parigha.*

HV has here, in its text, BP 201. 21cd, and 23c.

After the end of Pārijāta affair, at adh. 135, HV has a number of adh. 136-174, containing, besides the two references given above : extent of Kṛṣṇa's family at adh. 162, (vide C), and Śambara incident (XIV), at adh. 163-167, other subjects not found in any of the remaining sources in the present connection, and need not, therefore, be given here with any details.

(a) XVI Love affair between Aniruddha and Uṣā

(b) BP 205, 206 ; VP 32, 33 ; PP 277 ; HV 175-190 ; BVP 114-120 ; BhP 62, 63.

(c) Uṣā, daughter of Bali's son Bāṇa, saw Śiva and Pārvatī, indulging in amorous sports, and asked for the same pleasure for herself ; when subsequently, according to Pārvatī's promise, the young girl saw herself enjoyed by a youth, in a dream, she was helped by her friend Citralekhā, who identifying the youth as

1 " ...Rāmaḥ...nyavedayata Kṛṣṇsya tat ca sarvam... " HV I10.

2 " Kruddhah parigham udyamya... " BhP 61. 36,

Aniruddha, got him into the harem by her magic power, and here, the lovers stayed on. By this time, Bāṇa, who had a thousand arms, was eager for a strong fight and prayed to Śiva for an opponent in arms. Śiva told that the opportunity was coming ; when the Asura was informed of the presence of the youthful lover, he fought with him, and bound him fast with serpents-' Pannagāstra. ' Nārada took this news to Dvārkā and Kṛṣṇa, with his forces invaded Śoṇitapura, Bāṇa's city. In the strong fight that ensued, even Śiva sided with the Asura, but Kṛṣṇa defeated all, cutting the host of arms of Bāṇa, and ultimately, after reconciling matters, returned to his place, with the young lovers married.

(d) BVP differing, states that Pārvatī made Aniruddha eager by sending him a dream-vision of Uṣā, and in response Kṛṣṇa made Uṣā to crave for the youth, by sending his vision to her: that Citralekhā told of Uṣā's craving to Bāṇa, when he was with Śiva and others, Gaṇeśa told the facts, but was asked by Śiva, not to let Bāṇa hear him, so that after the lover had stayed with Uṣā, the guards of the harem told Bāṇa that his daughter was pregnant, which enraged him greatly, and in spite of Śiva and others objecting, he began to fight, where Aniruddha defeated him, and Kārttikeya as well. Bali then intervened, and prayed to Kṛṣṇa who promised not to kill Bāṇa. BP and VP state[1] that Bāṇa fought in a chariot driven by Nāndīśa. PP has the first 25 numbers of this adhyāya in prose, and brings in Pārvatī to pray to Kṛṣṇa to spare her husband, who was lying senseless on the field of battle, by Kṛṣṇa's Mohanāstra. BP, VP and BhP state that when Kṛṣṇa was about to hurl his discus against Bāṇa, the Māyā of the Daityas stood naked before him and consequently Kṛṣṇa closed his eyes and sent his Sudarśana to cut off the Asura's arms alone. PP stating[2] that Kṛṣṇa's Cakra cut off all the weapons hurled against him by Bāṇa and then the Asura's arms. HV at adh. 189, adds an incident after the marriage of the lovers, where Kṛṣṇa, adviced by Bāṇa's minister Kubhāṇḍa, tries to take away Bāna's cows protected by Varuṇa, but finally give up the matter, at Varuṇa's request. Adh. 190, the last of

1 " Nandiśasaṁgṛhītāśvam... । adhirūḍho mahāratham ॥ " BP 206. 28.
2 " Tāni sarvāṇi ciccheda cakreṇaiva Janārdanaḥ " PP 277. 18.

the Viṣṇuparvan in HV, gives the celebrations in Dvārakā, where the bride Uṣā was sent in a peacock—chariot by the goddess Rudrāṇī.[1]

(e) HV finishes its account of Kṛṣṇa with this incident. AP which gives the whole life summary, mentions only the Yamunā-Karṣaṇa a feat of Rāma, after this, and concludes with the statement that Kṛṣṇa, after this, lived happily with his numerous wives and their children. In fact, this marks the height of Kṛṣṇa's prosperity according to Purāṇic tradition, as even in BhP adh. 63 ff. to the end of skandha X, except Mbh references, there is nothing to equal this incident.

There is one incident in which Kṛṣṇa has to fight with Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva, king of Kāśī, referred to, at BP 207 ; VP 54 ; PP 278 ; BhP 66 ; but this is not common to all the sources ; some mention, at HV 100 ; BhP Vij 52. 78 ff : BVP 121, a Śṛgāla Vāsudeva, who was ruling in Karavīrapura, and was killed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the Southern fight with Jarāsaṁdha (see above under XI). VyP, in giving the sons of Vasudeva from his different wives, mentions, at 96.183. 'Puṇḍra' and 'Kapila' as sons of Sugandhī Vanarājī ; of these the first becomes king, Kapila retiring to forests ; both these Vāsudevas-Śṛagāla, according to BVP alone—are said to have imitated Kṛṣṇa, in appearance, and paraphernalia, and posed themselves as the original, challenging Kṛṣṇa for fight or surrender; the latter cut the head of Pauṇḍraka with his cakra, when his son, under favour of Śiva, created a 'Kṛtyā' and sent her against Dvārakā, which began to take fire : so Kṛṣṇa, who was then playing at dice, sent his Sudarśana after her, which pursuing her to the end, burnt down the city of Vārāṇaśī. PP gives the name of the son, as Daṇḍapāṇi, while BhP calls him Sudakṣiṇa, BP and VP not giving any. This incident, perhaps, records history of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the followers of Śaiva faith, who wore Puṇḍra mark, and imitated the Bhāgavatas. BhP inserts between the Uṣā incident and Pauṇḍraka affair, two adhs. 64-giving Nṛgopākhyāna and 65 the incident no. XII, while BVP places Śṛgāla and Sya-

1 "Māyūraṃ ratham āruhya ... | Uṣā saṁpreṣitā devyā rudrāṇyā... HV 190. 11032.

mantaka, bringing in[1] Mbh reference in the former case, (adh. 121 and 122) after Uṣā incident, and reverts to its main theme about Rādhā, and finishes the story with her reunion: (123–129) after 100 years of separation, Rādhā worships Gaṇeśa and is reunited to Kṛṣṇa, who, after fully sporting himself, finally returns to Goloka with her, and with other residents of Gokula. 130; Nārada's marriage with Sṛñjaya's daughter and his return to penance after a short worldly life. 131; about Fire being called 'Hiraṇyaretas'. 132 a brief resumè of the BVP.

(a) XVII–EXPLOITS OF BALARĀMA.

As mentioned above, the Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa seems to refer to the Uṣā incident, as the last one of importance, and then, after some time, comes the 'last of the Yādavas', which HV, forming a part of the Mbh, omits. But before this, it was natural to give something about Balarāma, the elder brother, and here we find the Ṛṣis asking about the same: "Śrotum icchāmahe bhūyo *Balbhadrasya* dhīmataḥ ; Mune parākramaṁ śauryam..." BP 208.

(b) In reply to this, we have two incidents recorded at BP 208, 209, VP 36,37; HV (only the first, coming after Rukmī's death; see under XV), and BhP 67,68 (transposing the two), the last source adding a few more still before coming to the end.

(c) These two incidents are : (1) placing his plough against the city-walls, Balarāma, forcing the capital Hastināpura, into the river Ganges, as he was enraged by the Kauravas laughing at his orders to release Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, who was taken captive, while he was trying to run away with the daughter of Duryodhana from Svayaṁvara, and (2) killing Dvivida, the monkey friend of Narakāsura, as he attacked Rāma, while he was enjoying himself in his wife's company, in the gardens of the hill Raivata.

(e) After this BhP adds a number of adhs. mainly dealing with the Mbh. incidents. This is the only Purāṇa which has stated the Purāṇic story in Mbh. context; the details in the BhP portion under consideration, are:—69 Kṛṣṇa's family life; 70–77 Mbh. Sabhā portion from Jarāsaṁdha to Śiśupāla incidents, and

1. Śṛgāla upbraiding Kṛṣṇa.—"Droṇaṁ Bhīṣmaṁ ca Karṇaṁ ca..... ghātayāmāsa Māyayā" showing that Mbh. war was over already. BVP 121.9.

Vana portion regarding Kṛṣṇa's fight with Śālva ; 78 1–16 Death of Dantavaktra and Vidūratha by Kṛṣṇa, in fight (PP 279.18–23 gives the death of the first, who fought 'day and night' with Kṛṣṇa at the gates of Mathurā, and after this, at st. 24–28, Kṛṣṇa went to Gokula, sported with the women of the place for two months, and sending all the beings of the place to happy Vaikuṇṭha, returned to Dvārakā). 17-40 Rāma's pilgrimage, during the Mahābhārata war. 79–Rāma's return to Dvārakā after the war. 80,81 (Coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira, inserted in Vij. Recn.) also in PP 279.29–36 ; BVP 113.37–40. Kṛṣṇa's friend–'Kucela' 'Sudhāman' in BVP; 'Bālasakhā satīrthya', in PP,—struck with poverty, made rich by Kṛṣṇa ; 82 Meeting of Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas on the Kurukṣetra, where Nanda, Yaśodā too, were present. 83. Talk between Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa's wives. 84. Sacrifice performed by Vāsudeva ; and then all returning to Dvārakā for the rainy season. 85.1–26. Vasudeva praising Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, 27 ff. Devakī shown her dead sons by Kṛṣṇa ; 86 Arjuna taking away Subhadrā, an incident, as if forgotten so long. 87 Śrutigītā recited by Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa to Nārada. 88 Vṛkāsura story, similar to Bhasmāsura, here Nārāyaṇa taking the form of a boy–'baṭu'–puts the Asura down. 89.1–21, discussion among Bhṛgu and other Ṛṣis, about the greatness of Viṣṇu, 22–66, also at HV 170-73 PP 279.41–55; BVP 113.35; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna engaged in restoring the dead sons of a Brāhmaṇa, where Arjuna was proved powerless. PP states[1] that the Brāhmaṇa had thus lost 6 sons, the last aged 5 years, and BhP, differing,[2] gives three sons, each dying as soon as born. 90, Kṛṣṇa's sports with his wives.

(a) XVIII—Last of the Yādavas.

(b) BP 210–212, VP 37, 38; PP 279.56–96; BhP XI, 1, 6, 30, 31, LP 69–83–94; Mbh. XVI.1–8.

(c) Yādava boys, out of joke, took Sāmba dressed as a woman to the Ṛṣis, Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, at the holy place Piṇḍāraka, and asked them, what the pregnant lady would bear.

1. "Mṛtam Pañcavarṣikam bālam" and "...mama pañca putrā pūrvaṃ hatā ayaṃ tu ṣaṣṭhaḥ..." PP 279.41,43.

2. "Jātamātro bhuvaṃ spṛṣṭvā mamāra kila bhārata" and "Evam dvitiyaṃ viprarṣis tṛtīyaṃ tvevaṃ eva ca," BhP 89.22,26.

The insulted Brāhmaṇas told the boys that Sāmba would give birth to a 'Musala', a rod, and it would prove ruin to all the Yādavas. The rod was accordingly born, and the boys, afraid of the consequences, told the whole to king Ugrasena, who pounded it, and threw it into the sea, where it grew into Eraka grass, and the iron ring of the rod was swallowed by a fish, secured by the hunter Jarā, who set it to his arrow. Kṛṣṇa, on his side, received the hint, and seeing bad omens, ordered all the Yādavas to proceed to the holy place Prabhāsa, where the Yādavas, drunk to excess, fell to quarrelling, and Kṛṣṇa, seeing them gone out of control, took a handful of grass and struck all to death with it. Dāruka, the charioteer, alone was left and was sent by Kṛṣṇa to carry the news to Arjuna, asking him to come for relief of those left behind; Rāma, in the form of a serpent, expired, and Kṛṣṇa was struck in his foot by an arrow from the hunter Jarā.

Ugrasena, Vasudeva and his wives, as also the principal wives of Kṛṣṇa, entered fire, while Arjuna with the remaining ladies and men proceeded towards his own place, when the camp was attacked, on the way, by robbers, who took away some of the ladies too. Arjuna, who could not successfully revert the attack, and was disappointed, reached Indraprastha, with the remaining people, and crowned Vajra, a great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa, on the throne, and with his brothers, himself proceeded to his Mahāprasthāna.

(d) PP mentions only the great Ṛṣi Kaṇva, practising pensnce on the river Narmadā, while LP adds 'Durvāsāḥ' to the three, BhP adding a number of others. BP, VP, and BhP state that Uddhava, an intimate friend of Kṛṣṇa, was sent to Badarī after the curse was known; Mbh.[1] seems to state that he expired, as 'left, none knew where,' while PP and LP omit this altogether; PP stating that the Musala was disposed of by Kṛṣṇa, Mbh.[2] refers to an acclamation prohibiting drink in the city. BhP inserts, previous to the final departure of Uddhava, a series of adhyāyas 7–29 dealing with philosophy told him by Kṛṣṇa after

1. Apaśyan nuddhvaṃ yāntaṃ tejasāvṛtya rodasī, Mbh. XVI. 4.14.
2. "...Surāsavo no kartavyaḥ...18, Yas'ca no viditaṃ kuryāt peyam...Jīvan sa śūlam ārohet..." Mbh. XVI.2.19.

the fashion of the Mbh. A portion of the great Mbh. episode beginning with the aftermath of the war, is also given at the beginning of the BhP 1.7–15, as also the context of this Purāṇa, is set in the meeting between Vidura and Uddhava after the expiry of all the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas. Regarding the robbing away of some of Kṛṣṇa's widows, Mbh. XVI.8.60, BP (agreeing with VP) 212.26, has the same statement, that some were taken by force, while others followed through their *desire* "Kāmāt cānyāḥ pravavrajuḥ." BhP wisely omits this reference, saying that Arjuna took the remaining people to Indraprastha, while PP only refers to the ladies being taken ; 'jagṛhuḥ'. In explanation of this, BP, VP, and PP refer to an old incident where the sage Aṣṭāvakra was laughed at, for his deformity, by the celestial nymphs, and were, cursed by him that they would go with robbers, and by his favour, were granted that they would have lord Vāsudeva as their husband. PP is not clear regarding the sequences of the curse and favour, but BP and VP state[1] that the sage was prayed to by the ladies, while he was neck-deep in water, and laughed at when he came out.

III–Kṛṣṇa story in the Mahābhārata.

1. We have done so far with the incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the different Purāṇas, and although there is difference as regards details, we can say that the general story, *in gross*, is the same in *all* these sources; we have also reason to suppose that except for BP and VP, each source has a separate composition for itself, although BP seems to have influenced a few other sources, to some extent; and now we turn to

The Mahābhārata,

another source of importance, where a part of the life of Kṛṣṇa, as connected with that of the Pāṇḍavas, is found. We can very well see that whatever the present state of the Epic text be, it was mainly meant to describe the Pāṇḍavas and their cousins, and Kṛṣṇa, though a very important ally of the former, comes

1. Tuṣṭuvus tam mahātmānam...74, Ākaṇṭhamagnaṃ salile...BP 272.75, and, "tam uttīrṇaṃ ca dadṛśur virūpaṃ vakraṃ aṣṭadhā ... hāsaḥ sphuṭo bhavat tāḥ śaśāpa muniḥ....op. cit, 212,81,82.

in only where he is wanted. The following is, in brief, a list of incidents, mentioned in MBh, where Kṛṣṇa figures directly some way or other :—

1–I. 201-227 Kṛṣṇa, present at the Svayaṁvara of Draupadī, sees the Pāṇḍavas, returns with them to Hastināpura, gets Indraprastha built, and, with Rāma, returns to Dvārakā.

2–I. 247-II. 2 goes to attend the marriage ceremony of his sister Subhadrā, stays on with the Pāṇḍavas, when too, comes off the Khāṇḍava fire ; and returns to Dvārakā with his sister Subhadrā.

3–II. 13-25 sent for by Yudhiṣṭhira, for advice in the matter of Rājasūya ; death of Jarāsaṁdha, and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent return to his place.

4–II. 38-72 washed the feet of the Brāhmaṇas, during the sacrifice ; offered Arghya by Sahadeva, and insulted by Śiśupāla, kills the latter ; returns to Dvārakā after the sacrifice.

5–III. 12-22 goes with his followers, to offer condolences to Yudhiṣṭhira in forest ; relates his encounter with Śālva, as the cause of his absence from the Dyūta ; returns with Subhadrā and Abhimanyu to Dvārakā.

6–III. 119-121 Meeting of the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas at Prabhāsa.

7–III. 185-236. comes with Satyabhāmā, and stays with the Pāṇḍavas in the *Kāmyaka* forest and returns after some time. 264 Feast to sage Durvāsas. Kṛṣṇa helping Draupadī–Northern Interpolation.

8–IV. 78—V. 5, goes to Upaplavya and after the marriage of Abhimanyu, brings about a meeting of the kings and settles upon the Pāṇḍava's demand for their share, and then leaves for Dvārakā. asking to be sent for if Duryodhana refuses to admit their claim.

9–V. 17, Duryodhana and Arjuna, seeking help from Kṛṣṇa, in the coming war, go to Dvārakā, where Duryodhana gets the army and Kṛṣṇa, who had vowed not to take any active part in actual fight, joins Arjuna and returns with him.

10-V. 71-150, Kṛṣṇa's futile embassy to the Kauravas ; reports his failure to the Pāṇḍavas.

11-V. 152. 5-9. Kṛṣṇa with Dhṛṣṭadyumna and Sātyakī, arranged the camp for the army of the Pāṇḍavas.

12-VI-X-THE WAR.

(i) VI. 25-42 preaching the Bhagavadgītā.

(ii) a-VI. 59. 91 marching with his discus against Bhīṣma; b-VI. 106. 55 marching against Bhīṣma, restrained by Arjuna, in both cases.

(iii) VII.29.18 protected Arjuna by taking upon himself the charge of Vaiṣṇava missile sent by Bhagadatta, VII 32-43 explained to Arjuna his four-fold form.

(iv) VII.77.22 consoling Subhadrā after the death of Abhimanyu.

(v) VII.100.19 groomed the horses and caused them to drink water, in the din of battle.

(vi) VII. 142. 60, promised dying Bhūriśravas, his own world, form etc. in heaven.

(vii) VII. 147. 61 ff, created darkness, told Arjuna to cut off the head of Jayadratha, making it fall in the lap of his father.

(viii) VII. 174. 45ff, encouraged and sent off Ghaṭotkaca against Karṇa.

(ix) VII. 191, advised Pāṇḍavas to practise fraud on Droṇa; urged Yudhiṣṭhira to tell a lie.

(x) VIII. 72, told Arjuna, the story of Kauśika, and Balāka, and pacified him, when he (Arjuna) had drawn sword against Yudhiṣṭhira, for the insult offered to his (bravery) bow Gāṇḍīva.

(xi) VIII. 97. 30, saved Arjuna from the serpent-arrow of Karṇa, by pressing the chariot five fingures deep in the ground.

(xii) IX. 6. 26-40, advises Yudhiṣṭhira to kill Śalya.

(xiii) IX. 33. 2-16. censures Yudhiṣṭhira for having given Duryodhana, the last decisive chance of fighting with one of them.

(xiv) IX. 59. 3–19, afraid of Duryodhana's success, advises Arjuna to give Bhīma a hint to strike Duryodhana on his thigh, even against the rules.

(xv) IX. 61 tried to pacify his brother Rāma, who was angry at the duel against the rules, but Rāma, still unsatisfied, returns to Dvārakā.

(xvi) IX. 62. 27 ff, Vāsudeva and Duryodhana upbraiding each other.
IX. 62. 71ff, consoles the despondent Pāṇḍavas.

(xvii) IX. 63. 50–54, advised by Yudhiṣṭhira, leaves for Hastināpura, to comfort Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

(xviii) X. 16. 12, cursing Aśvatthāman, declares that he would revive Parikṣit.

13–XI. 11–15, substituted the iron statue of Bhīma, for Dhṛtarāṣṭra to embrace, and afterwards pacifies him (23 ff.)

14–XI. 25. 39–46. Gāndhārī curses Kṛṣṇa.
XI. 26. 1–5, Kṛṣṇa upbraids her, telling the faults of her sons, which brought about the calamity.

15–XII, XIII, telling stories to calm the mind of Yudhiṣṭhira and taking him to Bhīṣma for the same.

(a) XII,28, tells the history of the sixteen kings.

(b) XII.29, tells Nārada and Parvata story.

(c) ,, 38, tells Cārvaka's story at the time of the coronation.

(d) ,, 45.21 asks Yudhiṣṭhira to approach Bhīṣma for knowledge.

(e) ,, 48, tells the story of Rāma-Jāmadagnya.

(f) ,, 81, Vasudeva–Nārada saṁvāda, regarding the quarrels among the Yādavas, related by Bhīṣma.

(g) " 237, discourse between Ugrasena and Kṛṣṇa on the mertits of Nārada.

(h) XIII.45–49, describes the greatness of Rudra, when Kṛṣṇa himself practised penance for a son from Jāmbavatī and pleased Rudra, who granted him boons.

" $\frac{.139\text{–}146\ (N.\ Recn)}{202\text{–}250\ (S.\ Recn)}$ propitiated Śiva by penance, who foretold Kṛṣṇa's feats and granted boons.

" 252, returns to Dvārakā, when Rukmiṇī gave birth to Pradyumna.

" 265–66, describes the greatness of Rudra to Yudhiṣṭhira.

(i) XIII.264, tells Pradyumna how Durvāsas was pleased after severe tests.

16–XIV.17–51 recited Anugītā to Arjuna.

17– „ .58, on his way to Dvārakā, sees the sage Uttaṅka, and pacifies him by showing his Viśvarūpa etc.

18– „ 60–62, related the incidents of the war to his father, who performed obsequies for the dead relatives.

19– „69.24–36, restored to life the dead child of Uttarā.

20– „ 87–89, attended the horse-sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, and returned to Dvārakā.

21–XVI—The Mausalaparvan, describing the end of all the Yādavas, including Kṛṣṇa's death at the hands of a hunter, Jarā; and lastly,

22–XVIII.4.2, seen in his divine form in heaven, by Yudhiṣṭhira.

2. A comparison of these incidents with those of the Purāṇic tradition, will show that, excepting the Mausala, giving the end of the Yādava family, no incident is common, and that the two are quite separate traditions. Of course, some Purāṇas, and BhP, most of them, do bring in the Mbh. story, to a certain extent, as we find the reverse in the Mbh. also. The following is a brief statement of these references:—

MBH. REFERENCES IN THE PURĀṆAS

1. Indra requesting Kṛṣṇa to befriend Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa promising accordingly to protect him all through his life. BP 188.40–47, VP 12.17–24.

2. Garga, giving a prohphecy of Kṛṣṇa's life, mentions his help towards the Pāṇḍavas–BVP 13.131.

3. Rājasūya incident, and Śiśupāla's death, mentioned, as also the Mbh. war Op. cit. 113.23–34.

4. Bāṇa, speaking to Aniruddha, referring to the Mbh. war op. cit.115.65.

5. Śṛagāla Vāsudeva, upbraiding Kṛṣṇa, referring to the death of Bhīṣma, Droṇa etc. through Kṛṣṇa, op. cit. 121.8,9.

6. Indra referring to the Khāṇḍava fire, while speaking to Nārada, in the Pārijāta incident HV 129.7300.

7. BhP, at the very beginning, makes[1] Śuka say that he would give a combined account of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and starts with the Sauptika incidents of the Mbh. Further at skandha X, which is mainly devoted to the life of Kṛṣṇa, it inserts, off and on, various references to incidents in the Mbh. This tendency has been carried further still, by Vij Recn, which mentions some more in its text. Here are some instances to support this statement :—

(a) Akrūra being sent to Hastināpura to get news about the Pāṇḍavas, BhP X.48.32 ff, after Kaṁsa's death, and his subsequent return after seeing Dhṛtarāṣṭra's attitude, towards the Pāṇḍavas, op. cit. 49.

(b) Vij. giving a list of kings in Jarāsaṁdha's army; mentioning Drupada, Śakunī and others of Mbh. fame. op. cit. after 50 12ab. HV, in addition, mentions[2] the Kauravas also.

(c) Vij. mentioning Kṛtavarman being sent by Kṛṣṇa to see the Pāṇḍavas, he having learnt that Drupada was defeated by the young sons of Kuntī. op. cit. ins. after 52.14.

(d) Kṛṣṇa going to pay a visit to the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha very soon after their marriage with Draupadī. op. cit. 58, and during his stay of some months, married Kālindī, daughter of the Sun. 58.13ff.

(e) Kṛṣṇa going to see the Pāṇḍavas in forest, hearing of their loss of kingdom etc. in the play at dice ; ins. by Vij at the beginning of adh. 64, and returning to Dvārakā with Subhadrā and Abhimanyu.

1. " Parikṣito tha rājarṣer janmakarma vilāyanam, saṁsthām ca *Pāṇḍu-putrāṇām* vakṣye Kṛṣṇakathodayam," BhP. I.7.12.

2. "Duryodhanādayaś caiva dhārtarāṣṭrā mahābhaṭāḥ" HV 91.4971.

(f) Kings, kept in custody by Jarāsṁdha, sending word to Kṛṣṇa for their relief, when Nārada, coming, advises him about the Rājasūya of the Pāṇḍavas. The story of the sacrifice with the deaths of Jarāsaṁdha and Śiśupala, Śālva's attack on Dvārakā during Kṛṣṇa's absence at the Rājasūya; Kṛṣṇa's return and death of Śālva. op. cit. 70–77.

(g) After 78.16, Vij. *ins.* the story of the Mbh. war, beginning with the meeting of kings at Upaplavya, referred to at the beginning of Mbh. V. BhP, proper, mentions only Rāma's pilgrimage at the time of the war. "Śrutvā yuddhodyamaṃ Rāmaḥ Kurūṇām saha Pāṇḍavaiḥ । tīrthābhiṣekavyājena madhyasthaḥ prayayau kila..."BhP 78.17; refers also to his presence at the duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana, and his return to Dvārakā after futile efforts to prevent it. 79.22 ff.

(h) Vij. *inserts* at the beginning of adh. 80, Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, after the close of the war. and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent return to Dvārākā.

(k) Arjuna taking away Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā, an incident mentioned at Mbh.I.239–244, appearing here as a supplement at the near end of the story, at adh. 86.1–12. This portion does not appear in the Vij. Recn.

3. The Mbh. too, on the other hand, contains references to the Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa; here, too, we find a tendency in the Southern Recn. of the Epic, to insert more Purāṇic matter, as will be seen from the following :—

PURĀṆIC REFERENCES IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

I-65. 3954, Earth approaching Brahmā and praying for relief, referred to in all Purāṇas, vide above.

I–214. 32, 33, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma born of the black and white hair of Nārāyaṇa, entering the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī (mentioned in the Pañcendropākhyāna). referred to in BP, VP and DBh. vide II (d) above.

II. 19. Kṛṣṇa referring to Kaṁsa's death as the cause of his enmity towards Jarāsaṁdha.

II. 23, giving the Purāṇic account of Kṛṣṇa's life– a *southern interpolation.*

II. 40. 23 Śiśupāla depreciating Kṛṣṇa: " Rājānam hatavān purā Jarāsaṁdham..., " where Nīlakaṇṭha takes ' Rājānam ' to mean " Kaṁsam. "

II. 42-61, Bhīṣma about the different incarnations; Kṛṣṇa's life at 52–60-*South.-interpolation.*

II. 64. 7–12, Śiśupāla referring to Purāṇic incidents:— Pūtanā (Śakunī), Aśvavṛṣabham, cetanārahitam kāstham pātitam, pādena Śakaṭam, valmīkamātraḥ (hill) saptāham ...dhṛtaḥ, bahvannam bhuktam ; hataḥ Kaṁsaḥ ; " this passage is laid down by R. G. Bhandarkar as an interpolation (Vaiṣṇavism p. 50).

II. 68. 15–22, Kṛṣṇa enumerating the evil deeds of Śiśupāla, referring to his burning Dvārakā during Kṛṣṇa's absence on the trip to Prāgjyotiṣapura (of Narakāsura), and his desire for Rukmiṇī, along with other actions.

II. 83. 8, Vidura to Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers to Kaṁsa's death by Kṛṣṇa.

II. 90. 43–49, Draupadī praying to Kṛṣṇa, when she was being stripped off her garments. S. and N. Recn. having different texts, the epithets used here, and prominently ' Gopījanapriya ' the *only* reference in Mbh. implying Kṛṣṇa's friendship with the Gopīs, are not found in old MSS. of Mbh.

III. 12. 30. 32, Arjuna pacifying the angry Kṛṣṇa in the forest residence of Pāṇḍavas, mentions: his having made the way to Prāgjyotiṣa safe by breaking the nets of Mura, and killing Niśumbha and Naraka, also refers to his taking away Rukmiṇī.
15-22, Kṛṣṇa relating his encounter with Śālva.

V. 48. 74 ff. Saṁjaya reporting Arjuna's speech to the Kauravas, referring to Kṛṣṇa's prowess, mentioning with other deeds, Rukmiṇīharaṇa, killing of Dantavaktra, and burning of Vārāṇaśī (in the affair of Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva); Kṛṣṇa killed Kaṁsa, and restored the diamond ' Kuṇḍalas' to the gods, who granted him boons.

V. 67. 4, Saṁjaya to Dhṛtarāṣṭra " Narakam Śambaraṁ caiva Kaṁsacaidyaṁ ca mādhavaḥ jitavān...krīḍan niva..."

V. 130. 55-67. Vidura enumerating the deeds of Kṛṣṇa refers to Dvivida, Naraka, Pūtanā, Govardhana, Ariṣṭa, Dhenuka, Cāṇūra, Aśvarāja (Keśī), Kaṁsa, Jarāsaṁdha, Baka, Śiśupāla, Bāṇa, Pārijāta etc. etc. st. 68 : "his marriage with the captive maidens " is omitted in old MSS.

VII. 11. 1-26, Dhṛtarāṣṭra describing Kṛṣṇa's feats since his childhood, beginning with his being reared up among the cowherds : "Saṁvardhatā gopakule balenaiva...Vikhyāpitam balam" : and ending with his bringing the tree Pārijāta from heaven.

IX. 62. 26. Duryodhana upbraiding Kṛṣṇa calls him : " Kaṁsadāsasya dāyāda. "

XII. 348. God Hari, in Śvetadvīpa, telling Nārada of his ten incarnations :—life of Kṛṣṇa appears as a prophecy at st. 21-41, where restoration of Nṛga, the lizard, and fight with Bāṇa (25, 26), death of Kaṁsa, Keśī and others, Kāliya, Pauṇḍraka, as also the holding of Govardhana (30-33), and few other lines giving more details, are given as *southern interpolation.*

XIII. 45-49, Requested by his wife Jāmbavatī for a son, Kṛṣṇa, 12 years after the death of Śambara by Pradyumna, left for Himālayas and practising hard penance propitiated the God Śiva, who granted him boons.

XIII. God Śiva describing the greatness of the great Hari Kṛṣṇa, foretells his birth from Vasudeva, of the Śūra family : ' sa śūrah...janayiṣyati...Vasudeva iti khyātam putram...13. tasya putraś caturbāhur Vāsudevo bhaviṣyati' 32. refers to his victory over Jarāsaṁdha (34), his birth in Śūrasenas, and residence in Dvārakā, (36), and mentions his elder brother (54).

XVI. 1-8, Mausala incident referred to above.

IV—Concluding Remarks.

1. That the Mbh. in its present form, seems influenced by the Purāṇas, can be seen from the Mārkaṇḍeya-samasyā, of the Vanaparvan, also a description of Rāma's pilgrimage, appearing in Śalyaparvan, both these being meant to describe the holy

places of India, after the fashion of the Purāṇas ; besides this, we find an actual mention of two Purāṇas;" Matsyakam nāma Purāṇam III. 190. 55," and "Vāyuproktam anusmṛtya Purāṇam," III. 194. 16. It is therefore, probable that the Purāṇic account of Kṛṣṇa's life, crept in, at some stage of development of the text, as he formed one of the most prominent characters of the Epic.

2. Kṛṣṇa's identification with the Supreme godhead Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa is, except in a few cases, complete in the present texts of the Epic and the Purāṇas, and tracing the different stages, at which he was first described as a great hero, and subsequently identified with the Godhead, would be only a piece of guess-work. We find numerous references in the Mbh. where he is referred to as an incarnation of the Great God, the creator and protector, as also the destroyer of the world ; and the Purāṇas, too, are not a bit backward in this matter. There is only one prominent place in the whole Epic, and that is the Bhagavadgītā, where, if we compare it with its imitation, the Anugītā, we can find out some trace of this development. A detailed comparative study of these two, is still a desideratum. It would suffice, for the sake of our present subject, to give just a few points :—

3. The Anugītā, has, for its context, a blunt or rather a foolish occasion, when Arjuna, after the horse-sacrifice, seeing that Kṛṣṇa would be returning to Dvārakā, asks him to repeat the Bhagavadgītā, saying[1] that he had forgotten all about it ; Kṛṣṇa in reply, saying that he too, was unable to repeat it exactly, but would give him a story which would carry the same[2] sense, and then starts with the philosophy told by the Brāhmaṇa from the heavens ; this story ends with adh. 20, which is concluded by Kṛṣṇa, by saying, ' this same was heard by Arjuna, at the time of the war : "Tadāpi hi rathasthas tvam śrutavān etad eva hi," 20,55, clearly meaning that the matter contained in adh. 17-20, was the same as that in the original Bhagavadgītā. Of course, the Anugītā, as we find it, at present, does not end here, but has got

1 " Yat tu tad bhavatā proktam purā Keśava souhṛdāt ' tat sarvam puruṣa-vyāghra naṣṭam me vyagracetasaḥ, " XIV. 17. 6.

2 " Yathā tām buddhim āsthāya gatim agryām gamiṣyasi, " op. cit. 17. 14.

two more additions, (1) the dialogue between the Brāhmaṇa couple adhs. 21–35, ending with Kṛṣṇa's explaining, that the Brāhmaṇa was the mind (manaḥ), and his wife was the intellect (buddhi) ; and (2) the dialogue between the teacher and his disciple 36–51, where too, at the end, Kṛṣṇa says that he was the teacher and the mind was the student, and here again, do we find the reference to the occasion of the BhG. repeated.[1] The number of stanzas in these three portions, amounts to a little above 700, the present BhG. text. Thus, if we are to judge from the Anugītā, the BhG, its original, seems to have *three* stages of development.

Apart from the treatment of the topics, a striking feature of the Anugītā is that, it is, all through, given in an indirect narration, while the text of BhG. abounds in statements in the ' first ' person, referring to Kṛṣṇa, as the Supreme God. In other words, Kṛṣṇa asserts himself as the God, and disposer of the worlds, in BhG. text, while in AG. he merely expounds the principles of philosophy, stating only at the end that he was the teacher. If AG clearly purports to be a repetition of BhG, it is difficult to see why it takes this roundabout way, avoiding the first personal ' Aham ' referring to Kṛṣṇa.

Mbh. is, otherwise, full of references recognising Kṛṣṇa, as the supreme God, and as such he is often called ' Purāṇa Ṛṣī, ' ' Vedātmā ' vijānatām dṛśyaḥ (II. 36. 10. 11)' ' sākṣād devaḥ, ' avyayātmā parameśvaraḥ (III. 86. 25–28), ' ' lokatrayasyādhipatir mahātmā (V. 22. 10), ' viśvasṛg (VII. 33. 12), ' viśvasya brahmaṇo mukham (XII. 212. 10), ' sarvasya sraṣṭā, samhāra eva ca (XIV. 55. 4), ' etc. etc. all the epithets of Viṣṇu, Hari, Nārāyaṇa, being given to him.

4. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the 'Viṣṇu sahasranāma ' at XIII. 254, does *not* contain any synonym illustrating any incident of Kṛṣṇa's Purāṇic life, though it mentions his connection with the Yādavas, and such other things that are found in the Mbh. text, too ; there is again, a collection of 100 names, at XII. 42, directly addressed to Kṛṣṇa, by Yudhiṣṭhira,

1 ' Pūrvam apyetad evoktam yuddhakāla upasthite ' 51, 49.

but here too, we find only his identification with the Godhead, and no reference to his Purāṇic life.

Mbh. is only responsible for the combined identification of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are stated to be sages gifted with superior knowledge, incarnations of the God. There are only twenty-six references to this, comparatively far too little. In the Purāṇic sources, BhP, and that too, only in one place, refers to this identification, when Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna go to the heavens to fetch the dead children of a Brāhmaṇa (BhP 89 60 : " pūrṇakāmāv api yuvām Naranārāyaṇāv ṛṣī, ". supreme God addressing the two). A striking fact, in this connection, is, that the famous benedictory stanza : ' Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc. " beginning the Mbh. and mentioning the pair under reference, is *not* found in the Southern MSS., which have some others to begin the great Epic with. It is, therefore, clear, that this stanza is a composition of the Northern Recension, and perhaps the identification itself is a Northern idea. Of course, the whole Mbh. MSS. material is not yet handled, and perhaps, even after the study of the S. MSS., it might be found that the 26 and old references to this Naranārāyaṇa idea, are not missing in the S. Recn. too ; the contamination between the two Recensions was inevitable. But it is possible that although Kṛṣṇa was identified with Nārāyaṇa long back, it was only his friendship with Arjuna of the Mbh. reputation, that subsequently gave the latter, a position of Nara, and thus the two stood side by side, as worshipful ones. A proof of this joint worship of Vāsudeva and Arjuna, is indicated in the sūtra ' Vāsudevārjunābhyām vun ' of Pāṇini, often quoted by scholars, to refer to Kṛṣṇa's greatness, disregarding the other part, mentioning ' Arjuna '; the sūtra would show that both Vāsudeva and Arjuna were considered as worshipful, and just as 'Vāsudevaka' denoted a devotee of the first, 'Arjunaka' should denote one worshipping the second. So perhaps, *both* these were given high position, and were worshipped as gods in the times of Pāṇini, and it was to point to this joint greatness, that references to their being Nara and Nārāyaṇa, were inserted at some stage of development of the Epic text.

6. R. G. Bhandarkar at p. 13, and 51, discussed some synonyms of Kṛṣṇa, saying at p. 13, that Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana and Keśava

are *not* Vṛṣṇi names, and at p. 51, that 'Govinda' has nothing to do with cows, but with 'go,' the earth, referring to the Boar-incarnation. In Mbh. V. 69, Saṁjaya tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the etymologies of some synonyms, and in another place, at Mbh. XII. 350, we find Kṛṣṇa expounding his names to Arjuna. Both these cases are more or less of an artificial nature, and the etymology of the word, 'Vāsudeva' given under Pāṇini's sūtra quoted, falls under this category. Both R. G. Bhandarkar, and Jacobi, have tried to put aside Vāsudeva altogether, rejecting on these grammatical grounds, that Vāsudeva is a patronymic, but the Epic and all the Purāṇic sources agree in putting Vasudeva as the father of Kṛṣṇa, and, as Pargitar, has pointed out at pp. 105, 107 of his 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,' we find his name properly placed in a regular genealogy of the Yādavas. In addition to this, we find his statement at p. 140. 'Kṛṣṇa is styled 'Dāśārha, Mādhava, Sāttvata, Vārṣṇeya, and Śauri' after various ancestors, as well as 'Vāsudeva' *after his father*. This use of patronymics seems to be more frequent in Kṣatriya than in Brāhmaṇa traditions.'

Along with other names we find Kṛṣṇa called 'the son of Devakī', as also of 'Vasudeva' all through the Mbh. and the Purāṇas; besides, there are in Mbh. about 14 occasional references to Vasudeva personally, and unless there is some scriptal error originally occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, and faithfully copied down by subsequent scribes, it seems rather strange that Patañjali, should go against the established tradition and state that Vāsudeva, is the son of Vāsu°, and not Vasu°. That the Ch. Up. mentions Kṛṣṇa, as merely a son of Devakī, is also not to be much made of, as the same epithet is given him, in the sources under consideration. It might be, a person was called after his father, as well as his mother, and subsequently the latter custom was somehow dropped away. In support of this statement a reference too, can fortunately, be given : at Atharvaveda, IV.16, the last Ṛk gives a sort of formula, the whole Ṛk being translated thus :— "with all these fetters, I fasten thee so and so, of such and such a family, *son of such and such* a mother..." Apart from this, it is also possible that this Kṛṣṇa initiated by Ghora Āṅgirasa, was quite different from that of the Epic and Purāṇic traditions, which

mention only Sāṁdīpanī, in some cases, Garga,-as his tutor, who is said to be a Kāśya; the same should be the case with the Vedic seer Kṛṣṇa; and more still, our Kṛṣṇa has not been stated to be a *seer* of Vedic hymns. If the identification of the two has to be taken at all, it is possible that the name of *our* Kṛṣṇa was attached to the particular Vedic hymns, where his name is found. Without going into details, we can see, that there are many hymns[1] in the Ṛgveda, which have got two or more names of seers, with the alternative 'vā'='or', while on the other hand, we can see some, where the seers of particular Ṛks, are carefully mentioned. It would thus seem, that, at the time the collection was formed, the names of seers of some of the hymns were *not known* for certain, and more than one were current in popular tradition, which is recorded faithfully; in the same way, it is possible, that some hymns were found *without* any name, and these were, by the people, given, some fictitious names, as their seers, and the seer Kṛṣṇa might be one of the type. Epithets like "Ṛṣiḥ purāho vedātmā, Mbh. II.36,10, applied to Kṛṣṇa, glorify him only in the general sense, without referring to his seership.

7. Turning now to our main point, we have seen, that although incidental cross-references are found both in the Purāṇas and the Mbh. it can safely be stated, even from the present state of the texts, that these references have been inserted at some later stage of the textual development, and originally the two accounts were mutually exclusive; so that the question is whether the two accounts refer to the same Kṛṣṇa, or to different persons.

Following the *orthodox view*, we can say that *one is supplementary of the other*. Kṛṣṇa was first glorified in the Mbh. and the remaining account of his life, which had nothing to do with the Pāṇḍavas, and their warfare, and was still in oral tradition, was put together to be used in the Purāṇas. It need not be argued, that he was unscrupulous in attaining his ends, and thus an unfit person to preach the high philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā. To find quite different, even contradictory characteristics, in one and

1. Vide, Ṛgveda I.105, VIII.42,71,102, X.9,11, 115 to quote only a few, where 'vā' is found; X.50 does not give any name, X.101 is doubtful about the deity.

the same person, is the very sign of greatness. The Pāṇḍavas, Bhīsma and others were attached to him, considered him as their sole support and resort, and saw the great God in his person, while the Kauravas took him to be an ordinary man, and treated him as such; even taking the most indifferent stand, there is nothing strange or *'incongruous'*, in our hero's being reared in a cow-settlement, Kaṁsa had put to death the first issues of Vasudeva, so, to avoid further calamity of the same nature, and to put off suspicion, the child was removed secretly to an unimposing place like the cow-settlement, and another substituted; while the child grew there, the upsetting of a cart (śakaṭa), killing of a bird (Pūtanā), a crane (Baka), an ass (Dhenuka), etc. were quite natural and ordinary incidents,—a boy of some dash could easily achieve these things. There is only one point which is given extraordinary importance in BVP, and is not solely missing in any of the Purāṇic sources: it is his sports with the Gopīs. Some of the sources state that Kṛṣṇa was at this time, only *seven* years' old, so any amorous play with the girls of the place is clearly out of question; it is *physically* impossible the only fact seems to be, that the boy was attractive in appearance, and sharp in his intellect, and was naturally endeared to all, especially the women-folk, he played on flute, and the music attracted the girls round him; of course, matter other than this, is all the play of imagination, and should not affect our hero, in the least.[1] There is only one gap in the story of this boy Kṛṣṇa, and that is, once gone to Mathurā with Akrūra, he never returned to Gokula. The sources have tried to bridge this over, but their very disagreement in this respect, brings out the broad fact to light, that the original tradition had nothing to say on this point.

8. With regard to Kṛṣṇa's personal normal activities of an ordinary day, we have a reference in Mbh. at XII.52.2f. and in BhP at X. adh. 70 too; where we find him practising *Yoga*, early

1 Or, was it that the figure *seven* suggested complete development. This suggestion has been made, in other connection, by Art O'Murnaghan; see Theosophical path, October 1929 p. 491—"seven is a perfect number ...". If this interpretation is accepted, we shall have to take Kṛṣṇa to have attained his youth, when his love-sports would be, at least, physically possible.

in the morning. There is a reference in the Bh. Gītā at adh. IV stating that Kṛṣṇa revived the Yogic tradition. Perhaps it might be that he initiated the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others in this practice, and was thus looked upon, by them, as their 'Guru-the God,' so that, while he was, to the world in general, a great hero and a politician, his inner circle looked upon him, even in his life time, as the reviver of an old system, the god incarnate come down to the Earth for the purpose.

But against all this orthodox view, there is a serious drawback in the two accounts, and it is, that they are mutually exclusive. An incident of greatest importance like the Mbh. war, Kṛṣṇa's preaching the message of the Bh. Gītā, are things which should not have been omitted in the Purāṇic accounts, as also on the other-hand, the Mbh. which brings hundreds of comparatively insignificant stories, in its finally developed form, of a lac of stanzas, should have recorded the rather wonderful incidents of his childhood; Janamejaya is always curious to know each smallest detail, and it is strange that we do not find any connected account of Kṛṣṇa's story, in the vast text of the Mbh.; the Southern Recension trying to put in matter of this nature at Sabhāparvan adhs. 23 and 52–60, makes this flaw only the more conspicuous.

If, on the other hand, we were to take the two accounts to refer to two different persons, there is much common matter that helps to identify the two, rather than separate them; so that, it is now impossible, on the authority of our present sources, the Epic and the Pūrāṇas— and these are mainly responsible for the Kṛṣṇa story; whether occasional references, outside this province, would make any conclusion valid, is doubtful to point out, where the two accounts seperated and how they were mixed up; at best, we can only state that the mutual influence between these two is very great, and leave further analysis to higher criticism which would be subjective, and hence not acceptable to all alike.

APPENDIX I.

KRSNA IDENTIFIED WITH THE SUPREME GODHEAD
REFERENCES IN THE MBH (KUMBH. EDITION,)

I. 64. 141–146ab विष्णुः...वसुदेवात्तु देवक्यां प्रादुर्भूतो... । called also ब्रह्म, पुरुष etc. धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय प्रजज्ञे ऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ।

68. 39–54 Earth approaching Brahmā, who in his turn, goes to Nārāyaṇa and requests : अंशेनावतरेत्येवं तथेत्याह च तं हरिः ।

68. 151 यस्तु नारायणो नाम देवदेवः सनातनः। तस्यांशो मानुषेष्वासीत् वासुदेवः प्रतापवान् । also शेषस्यांशो बलदेवः and सनत्कुमारं प्रद्युम्नं etc.

214. 32, 33 Kṛṣṇa born of the black hair of Nārāyaṇa.

227. 55, 56 महेन्द्रशासनाद्गत्वा विश्वकर्मा तु केशवं । प्रणम्य प्राणिपातार्हं... ।

238. 10 Arjuna as यति-चिन्तयामास देवेशं केशवं क्लेशनाशनम् । which Kṛṣṇa with सत्यभामा in bed,–दिव्यज्ञानेन दृष्टवान् ।

II. 1. 21 लोकनाथः प्रजापतिः ।

13. 43 Yudh. सर्वलोकात्परं मत्वा जगाम मनसा हरिम् । अप्रमेयं महाबाहुं कामाज्ञात-मजं नृषु ।

36. 10, 11 हरिः । ऋषिः पुराणो वेदात्मा दृश्यश्चैव विजानतां । जगतस्तस्थुषां श्रेष्ठः प्रभव-श्चाव्ययश्च ह । भूतभव्यभवन्नाथः केशवः केशिसूदनः । came to Yudh. with presents for the Rājasūya.

39. 13-20 Nārada, on the अर्घ्य occasion, thinks of हरि नारायण be-come incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, अन्धकवृष्णीनां वंशे जातः ।

41. 6ff. भीष्म declaring K. as Supreme God.

62. 9 Nārada supporting सहदेवः–कृष्णं कमलपत्राक्षं नार्चयिष्यन्ति ये नराः । जीवन्मृतास्तु ते ज्ञेया न संभाष्याः कदाचन ।

63. 14 Bhīṣma to Yudh.–माधव, the प्रभव and निधन, of all the चतुर्विध भूत's in three worlds.

67. 42 यादवस्य देवस्य (देहं विशतु पातिनः).

70. 52 शिशुपाल's तेजः entered the body of K.

90. 43-49 prayer of K. by Draupadī, at the time of वस्त्रहरण. *Ś. & N. Recensions have different texts,* here.

III. 12. 10ff केशव who is पुरुष, अप्रमेय, सत्य, अमिततेजस्, प्रजापतिपति, विष्णु etc. is praised by Arj. describing his feats.

45. 26 Indra to लोमशः—भूमिगतः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्मधुनिषूदनः । कपिलो नाम देवेशो भगवानजितो हरिः ।

46. 38 धृतराष्ट्र to संजयः—जनार्दनः हरिस्त्रैलोक्यनाथः being the मन्त्री, गोप्ता and सुहृद् of Arjuna.

86. 25–28 धौम्य to Yudh.—पुण्या द्वारवती where साक्षाद्देवः पुराणः परमेश्वरः हरिः आस्ते ।

192. 53 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. स एष कृष्णो...पुराणपुरुषो हरिरचिन्त्यात्मा... ।

202. 18 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. देवकीपुत्रेण नरके मज्जमानो राजर्षिर्नृगो ... स्वर्गं प्रापितः ।

264. 8–15 द्रौपदी praying K. as god at the दुर्वास affair [ref. दुःशासनादहं पूर्वं सभायां मोचिता त्वया । the whole of this adh. is a Northern text. Kṛṣṇa's help in the सभा affair is doubtful as there are two texts for the prayer and the वस्त्रहरण is not mentioned in any other Epic reference ; the insult made much of is her being dragged to the court, while she was रजस्वला.]

273. 72 Śiva to जयद्रथ :—स एष भगवान्विष्णुः कृष्णेति परिकीर्त्यते ।

311. 28 Indra to Karṇa : स (Arj.) यमाहुः नारायणमचिन्त्यं च तेन कृष्णेन रक्ष्यते ।

V. 7. 24 Arj. has, K. who is नृषु कामाज्जात, अजः etc.

7. 36 पीताम्बरधरो जगत्स्रष्टा जनार्दनः ।

22. 10 धृत. to संजय—लोकत्रयस्याधिपतिर्महात्मा ।

22. 30 ,, ,, ,, अनुस्मारंस्तस्य कर्माणि विष्णोः ।

,, 33 ,, ,, ,, सनातनो वृष्णिवीरश्च विष्णुः ।

48. 84, 88. K. called विष्णु by Arjuna.

53. 3 धृतराष्ट्रः—स स्रष्टा जगतः कृष्णः who would subjugate all the worlds.

67. संजय to धृतराष्ट्रः—सारतो जगतः कृत्स्नादतिरिक्तो जनार्दनः, who would burn the world, is the Lord of Time and Death, etc.

68. 3 संजय knows K. to be त्रियुगं...कर्तारमकृतं देवं भूतानां प्रभवाप्ययम् ।

69. ,, relates to धृतराष्ट्र, etymologies of Kṛṣṇa's Synonyms. These seem to be, more or less *artificial*.

70 धृतराष्ट्र praises K. as सनातन, सहस्रशीर्ष, पुराणपुरुष etc.

82. 36 ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां देवदेवः सनातनः leaving for हस्तिनापुर.

83. धृतराष्ट्र advising a receptiou of Kṛṣṇa :—भूतानामीश्वरो हि सः

86. 3 ,, त्रयाणामपि लोकानां भगनान्प्रापितामहः ।

90. 67 Kunti :—नमो धर्माय मेधसे । कृष्णाय महते नित्यं धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।

107. 14 गालव–विष्णुं गच्छाम्यहं कृष्णं... ।

„ 15 भोगा यस्मान्प्रतिष्ठन्ते ... । कृष्णं योगिनमव्ययम् ।

130. 55–67 विदुर to दुर्योधन, refers to the Purāṇic feats of K. :– अयं कर्ता न क्रियते कारणं चापि पौरुषे ।

131. 4–6 K. showing his विश्वरूप, seen by द्रोण, भीष्म, विदुर, संजय, धृतराष्ट्र.

V. 169. 16 भीष्म to दुर्यो०-गुडाकेशो **नारायण**सहायवान् ।

VI. 21. 11, 14-16 Arj. to Yudh, अनन्तनेजा गोविन्दो...। पुरुषःसनातनमयो यतः कृष्णस्ततो जयः । पुरा ह्येष हरिर्भूत्वा...। तत्प्रसादाद्धि त्रैलोक्यं प्राप्तं शक्रादिभिः सुरैः ।

25-42, Bhagavadgītā, where Kṛṣṇa identified himself with the God.

59. 96, 97 Bhīṣma to K.:—देवेश जगन्निवास etc.

65-68 ., to दुर्यो° relating the विश्वोपाख्यान; where ब्रह्मा requested the God to come to the earth as Kṛṣṇa.

98. 14-15 भीष्म to दुर्योधन :—यस्य गोप्ता जगत्स्रष्टा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । वासुदेवोऽनन्त शक्तिः ...। सर्वेश्वरो देवदेव :...।

106. 62-64 भीष्म welcoming death at the hands of K:—देवदेवः प्रहरस्व यथेष्टं...।

VII. 10. 76 धृतराष्ट्र :—नारायणो रणे नाथो दिव्यो दिव्यात्मकः प्रभुः ।

29. 34 K. explains to Arj. his fourfold form :—(1) तपश्चर्यां कुरुते भुवि, (2) पश्यति जगत् (3) कुरुते कर्म मानुषं, and (4) शेते...निद्रां वर्षसहस्रिकीम् ।

33. 12 द्रोण to दुर्योधन :—विश्वसृग् यत्र गोविन्दः...।

49. 1 विष्णोः स्वसुर्नन्दकरः स विष्ण्वायुध भूषणः । i.e. अभिमन्यु.

79. 9 सर्वेषामीश्वरेश्वरः ।...विष्णुः comforted Arj.

83. 10-20 Yudh. praising K. in the presence of other kings:—सर्वेश, देवदेवेश, विष्णो, हरे, कृष्ण etc. **नारदस्त्वां** समाचख्यौ पुराणमृषिसत्तमम् ।

143. 60 K. ordered भूरिश्रवा to go to his world and obtain divine from like himself.

150. 5ff, Yudh. after the death of Jayadratha, praises K. as the supreme Lord.

VIII. 23. 61 Karṇa to दुर्यो.—कृष्णश्च **जगतः स्रष्टा** रथं तमभिरक्षति (of Arjuna).

65. 1 **नारायण**समाहिते रथे.

72. 14 Arj. took:—त्वमस्य जगतस्तात वेत्थ सर्वं गतागतम् ।

83. 65 Karṇa to Śalya:--(Arjuna)...नारायणेनाप्रतिमेन गुप्त : । यस्य गुणा न शक्यं वक्तुं...महात्मनः विष्णोर्जिष्णोर्वा**सुदेवात्मजस्य** ।

101. 29-34 Yudh. praised K. after Karṇa's death.

IX. 18. 27 पाञ्चाला : पाण्डवै : सह speaking :—येषां च **जगतो नाथो** नाथः कृष्णो जनार्दन: ।

63. 12 भूता**नामी**श्वरे महात्मनि अवतीर्णे, Arjuna's रथ was reduced to ashes.

XII. 42 Yudh. after his coronation, praises Kṛṣṇa :—विष्णु :, पुराण :, वैकुण्ठ :, हंस :, हिरण्यगर्भ : etc. (100 names of विष्णु *acc. to S. Recn*).

45 Yudh. praising K. as a perfect yogin, and Lord ... कर्ता विकर्ता च त्वं क्षरश्चाक्षरश्च ह ।

46 भीष्मस्तवराज, where K. is addressed as the Godhead.

,, 136 हरि : (K.) gives त्रैलोक्यदर्शनं ज्ञानं to भीष्म.

50. 2-9 भीष्म praises K. in his विश्वरूप : दिवं ते शिरसा व्याप्तं पद्भ्यां देवी वसुंधरा ।

51. 15 K. grants भीष्म divine knowledge, ease of limbs, etc.

53. 25ff वासुदेव grants boons to भीष्म that his words would be honoured, and his fame would be eternal.

110. 35-38 भीष्म to Yudh : य एष...तवाच्युत : ।...वैकुण्ठ : पुरुषोत्तम : : य एनं संश्रयन्तीह भक्त्या नारायणं हरिम् । ते तरन्तीह दुर्गाणि... ।

206. भीष्म tells Yudh. how विष्णु, केशव, नारायण performed the creation, and identifies him with Kṛṣṇa, as related by नारद.

208. 1 Yudh. wants to know all re : कृष्णमव्ययमीश्वरम् ।

,, 47 भीष्म tells all, giving the अवतारs, and concludes : स एष...सर्वभूतादिरीश्वर : ।

212 वार्ष्णेयाध्यात्म : वासुदेव: सर्वमिदं विश्वस्य ब्रह्मणो मुखम् । पुरुषं सनातनं विष्णुं...।

286. 60 identifying जनार्दन with विष्णु नारायण whose powers were told to वृत्र by सनत्कुमार.

,, 62 K. is the **तुरीयांश** of the great God.

348. 21-54 कृष्णावतार foretold by भगवान् to नारद (St. 25, 26, 30-33, 36-39, 41 *cd*—53 *S. interp*).

,, 55 सात्वत the ninth अवतार.

350 K. expounds his names to Arjuna.

352 do. do. do.

358. 88 कृष्ण एव हि लोकानां भावनो मोहनस्तथा संहारकारकश्चैव कारणं च विशांपते

XIII. 263 भीष्म praises Kṛṣṇa, as the first creator, supreme God, identifies him with नारायण परम अव्यय (46.)

XIV. 52. 6ff Arj. praising Kṛṣṇa : विश्वकर्मन्नमस्तेस्तु विश्वात्मन्विश्वसत्तम ।...त्वयि-सर्वमिदं विश्वं...।

54. K. explains to उदङ्क his divine form.

55. 4, 5 K. reveals to उदङ्क his divine form.

„ 7-14 the sage praises Kṛṣṇa.

„ 38, 39 K. gave water in the मरु land.

68. उत्तरा praying K. for the revival of her child :—इच्छन्नपि हि-लोकांस्त्रीन् जीवयेथा मृतानिमान् ।

XV. 33. 11 व्यास to गान्धारी—नारायणं हृषीकेशं (विद्धि).

XVI. 5. 28 नारायण :—योगाचार्यो रोदसी व्याप्य लक्ष्म्या । स्थानं प्राप्त स्वं महात्माऽप्रमेयं ।

XVIII 5. 23 व्यास's teaching :—**यस्य नारायणो** देवो...। तस्यांशो वासुदेवस्तु कर्मणोन्ते विवेश ह ॥

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APPENDIX II.

KṚṢṆA AND ARJUNA IDENTIFIED WITH NĀRĀYAṆA AND NARA IN THE MBH.

I. 1. 198 यदाश्रौषं **नरनारायणौ** तौ कृष्णार्जुनौ वदतो नारदस्य ।

.68. 119 (सोम to gods re : अभिमन्यु's last fight) : **नरनारायणा**भ्यां तु स संग्रामो विनाकृतः ।

.238. 24 आस्तां प्रियसखायौ तौ **नरनारायणा**वृषी । (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna at Prabhāsa).

.250. 8, 9 **नरनारायणौ** यौ तौ...। अर्जुनं वासुदेवं च यौ तौ लोकोऽभिमन्यते । (Brahmā asking Agni to approach them).

.254. 18 **नरनारायणा**वेतौ पूर्वदेवौ दिवि श्रुतौ । (अशरीरिणी वाक् Indra in Khāṇḍava fight).

II. 89. 45 कृष्णं च **हरिं नरं** च त्राणाय विक्रोशति याज्ञसेनी ।

III. 12. 46-48 Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna : ममैव त्वं तवैवाहं...। **नर**स्त्वमसि...हरि**र्नारायणो** ह्यहम् ।

.40. 1-3 Śiva to Arjuna : **नर**स्त्वं पूर्वदेहे वै **नारायण**सहायवान् ।

.45. 18, 19 Indra to लोमशः **नरनारायणौ** यौ तौ पुराणौ ऋषिसत्तमौ । तावेतावभिजानीहि हृषीकेशधनंजयौ ॥

.84. 6 युधि० to धौम्य :...अहमपि जानामि **नरनारायणा**वृषी ।

?. 126. 19 प्रस्रवणगिरि where नरनारायणौ practised penance.

.273. 31, 82 Indra to Jayadratha :...अर्जुनं **नरं** नाम **नारायण**सहायक

mention only Sāṁdīpanī, in some cases, Garga,-as his tutor, who is said to be a Kāśya; the same should be the case with the Vedic seer Kṛṣṇa; and more still, our Kṛṣṇa has not been stated to be a *seer* of Vedic hymns. If the identification of the two has to be taken at all, it is possible that the name of *our* Kṛṣṇa was attached to the particular Vedic hymns, where his name is found. Without going into details, we can see, that there are many hymns[1] in the Ṛgveda, which have got two or more names of seers, with the alternative 'vā'='or', while on the other hand, we can see some, where the seers of particular Ṛks, are carefully mentioned. It would thus seem, that, at the time the collection was formed, the names of seers of some of the hymns were *not known* for certain, and more than one were current in popular tradition, which is recorded faithfully; in the same way, it is possible, that some hymns were found *without* any name, and these were, by the people, given, some fictitious names, as their seers, and the seer Kṛṣṇa might be one of the type. Epithets like "Ṛṣiḥ purāho vedātmā, Mbh. II.36,10, applied to Kṛṣṇa, glorify him only in the general sense, without referring to his seership.

7. Turning now to our main point, we have seen, that although incidental cross-references are found both in the Purāṇas and the Mbh. it can safely be stated, even from the present state of the texts, that these references have been inserted at some later stage of the textual development, and originally the two accounts were mutually exclusive; so that the question is whether the two accounts refer to the same Kṛṣṇa, or to different persons.

Following the *orthodox view*, we can say that *one is supplementary of the other*. Kṛṣṇa was first glorified in the Mbh. and the remaining account of his life, which had nothing to do with the Pāṇḍavas, and their warfare, and was still in oral tradition, was put together to be used in the Purāṇas. It need not be argued, that he was unscrupulous in attaining his ends, and thus an unfit person to preach the high philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā. To find quite different, even contradictory characteristics, in one and

1. Vide, Ṛgveda I.105, VIII.42,71,102, X.9,11, 115 to quote only a few, where 'vā' is found; X.50 does not give any name, X.101 is doubtful about the deity.

the same person, is the very sign of greatness. The Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others were attached to him, considered him as their sole support and resort, and saw the great God in his person, while the Kauravas took him to be an ordinary man, and treated him as such; even taking the most indifferent stand, there is nothing strange or *'incongruous'*, in our hero's being reared in a cow-settlement, Kaṁsa had put to death the first issues of Vasudeva, so, to avoid further calamity of the same nature, and to put off suspicion, the child was removed secretly to an unimposing place like the cow-settlement, and another substituted; while the child grew there, the upsetting of a cart (śakaṭa), killing of a bird (Pūtanā), a crane (Baka), an ass (Dhenuka), etc. were quite natural and ordinary incidents,—a boy of some dash could easily achieve these things. There is only one point which is given extraordinary importance in BVP, and is not solely missing in any of the Purāṇic sources : it is his sports with the Gopīs. Some of the sources state that Kṛṣṇa was at this time, only *seven* years' old, so any amorous play with the girls of the place is clearly out of question; it is *physically* impossible the only fact seems to be, that the boy was attractive in appearance, and sharp in his intellect, and was naturally endeared to all, especially the women-folk, he played on flute, and the music attracted the girls round him; of course, matter other than this, is all the play of imagination, and should not affect our hero, in the least.[1] There is only one gap in the story of this boy Kṛṣṇa, and that is, once gone to Mathurā with Akrūra, he never returned to Gokula. The sources have tried to bridge this over, but their very disagreement in this respect, brings out the broad fact to light, that the original tradition had nothing to say on this point.

8. With regard to Kṛṣṇa's personal normal activities of an ordinary day, we have a reference in Mbh. at XII.52.2f. and in BhP at X. adh. 70 too; where we find him practising *Yoga*, early

1 Or, was it that the figure *seven* suggested complete development. This suggestion has been made, in other connection, by Art O'Mur naghan ; see Theosopbical path, October 1929 p. 491—"seven is a perfect number ...". If this interpretation is accepted, we shall have to take Kṛṣṇa to have attained his youth, when his love-sports would be, at least, physically possible.

in the morning. There is a reference in the Bh. Gītā at adh. IV stating that Kṛṣṇa revived the Yogic tradition. Perhaps it might be that he initiated the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others in this practice, and was thus looked upon, by them, as their 'Guru-the God,' so that, while he was, to the world in general, a great hero and a politician, his inner circle looked upon him, even in his life time, as the reviver of an old system, the god incarnate come down to the Earth for the purpose.

But against all this orthodox view, there is a serious drawback in the two accounts, and it is, that they are mutually exclusive. An incident of greatest importance like the Mbh. war, Kṛṣṇa's preaching the message of the Bh. Gītā, are things which should not have been omitted in the Purāṇic accounts, as also on the other-hand, the Mbh. which brings hundreds of comparatively insignificant stories, in its finally developed form, of a lac of stanzas, should have recorded the rather wonderful incidents of his childhood; Janamejaya is always curious to know each smallest detail, and it is strange that we do not find any connected account of Kṛṣṇa's story, in the vast text of the Mbh.: the Southern Recension trying to put in matter of this nature at Sabhāparvan adhs. 23 and 52–60, makes this flaw only the more conspicuous.

If, on the other hand, we were to take the two accounts to refer to two different persons, there is much common matter that helps to identify the two, rather than separate them; so that, it is now impossible, on the authority of our present sources, the Epic and the Pūrāṇas—and these are mainly responsible for the Kṛṣṇa story; whether occasional references, outside this province, would make any conclusion valid, is doubtful to point out, where the two accounts seperated and how they were mixed up; at best, we can only state that the mutual influence between these two is very great, and leave further analysis to higher criticism which would be subjective, and hence not acceptable to all alike.

APPENDIX I.

KRSNA IDENTIFIED WITH THE SUPREME GODHEAD
REFERENCES IN THE MBH (KUMBH. EDITION,)

I. 64. 141–146ab विष्णुः...वसुदेवात्तु देवक्यां प्रादुर्भूतो... । called also ब्रह्म, पुरुष etc. धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय प्रजज्ञे ऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ।

68. 39–54 Earth approaching Brahmā, who in his turn, goes to Nārāyaṇa and requests : अंशेनावतरेत्येवं तथेत्याह च तं हरिः ।

68. 151 यस्तु नारायणो नाम देवदेवः सनातनः। तस्यांशो मानुषेष्वासीत् **वासुदेवः** प्रतापवान् । also शेषस्यांशो बलदेवः and सनत्कुमारं प्रद्युम्नं etc.

214. 32, 33 Kṛṣṇa born of the black hair of Nārāyaṇa.

227. 55, 56 महेन्द्रशासनाद्गत्वा विश्वकर्मा तु केशवं । प्रणम्य प्राणिपाताहैं... ।

238. 10 Arjuna as यति-चिन्तयामास **देवेशं** केशवं क्लेशनाशनम् । which Kṛṣṇa with सत्यभामा in bed,–दिव्यज्ञानेन दृष्टवान् ।

II. 1. 21 लोकनाथः प्रजापतिः ।

13. 43 Yudh. सर्वलोकात्परं मत्वा जगाम मनसा हरिम् । अप्रमेयं महाबाहुं कामाज्जात-मजं नृषु ।

36. 10, 11 हरिः । ऋषिः पुराणो वेदात्मा दृश्यश्चैव विजानतां । जगतस्तस्थुषां श्रेष्ठः प्रभव-श्चाव्ययश्च ह । भूतभव्यभवन्नाथः केशवः केशिसूदनः । came to Yudh. with presents for the Rājasūya.

39. 13-20 Nārada, on the अर्घ्य occasion, thinks of हरि नारायण be-come incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, अन्धकवृष्णीनां वंशे जातः ।

41. 6ff. भीष्म declaring K. as Supreme God.

62. 9 Nārada supporting सहेदवः–कृष्णं कमलपत्राक्षं नार्चयिष्यन्ति ये नराः । जीवन्मृतास्तु ते ज्ञेया न संभाष्याः कदाचन ।

63. 14 Bhīṣma to Yudh.–माधव, the प्रभव and निधन, of all the चतुर्विध भूत's in three worlds.

67. 42 यादवस्य **देवस्य** (देहं विशतु पातितः).

70. 52 शिशुपाल's तेजः entered the body of K.

90. 43-49 prayer of K. by Draupadī, at the time of वस्त्रहरण. *Ś. & N. Recensions have different texts,* here.

III. 12. 10ff केशव who is पुरुष, अप्रमेय, सत्य, अमिततेजस्, प्रजापतिपति, विष्णु etc. is praised by Arj. describing his feats.

45. 26 Indra to लोमश:—भूमिगतः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्मधुनिषूदनः । कपिलो नाम देवेशो भगवानजितो हरिः ।

46. 38 धृतराष्ट्र to संजय:—जनार्दनः हरिस्त्रैलोक्यनाथः being the मन्त्री, गोप्ता and सुहृद् of Arjuna.

86. 25–28 धौम्य to Yudh.—पुण्या द्वारवती where साक्षाद्देवः पुराणः परमेश्वरः हरिः आस्ते ।

192. 53 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. स एष कृष्णो...पुराणपुरुषो हरिरचिन्त्यात्मा... ।

202. 18 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. देवकीपुत्रेण नरके मज्जमानो राजर्षिर्नृगो ... स्वर्गं प्रापितः ।

264. 8–15 द्रौपदी praying K. as god at the दुर्वास affair [ref. दुःशासनादहं पूर्वं सभायां मोचिता त्वया । the whole of this adh. is a Northern text. Kṛṣṇa's help in the सभा affair is doubtful as there are two texts for the prayer and the वस्त्रहरण is not mentioned in any other Epic reference ; the insult made much of is her being dragged to the court, while she was रजस्वला.]

273. 72 Śiva to जयद्रथ :—स एष भगवान्विष्णुः कृष्णेति परिकीर्त्यते ।

311. 28 Indra to Karṇa : स (Arj.) यमाहुः नारायणमचिन्त्यं च तेन कृष्णेन रक्ष्यते ।

V. 7. 24 Arj. has, K. who is नृषु कामाज्जात, अजः etc.

7. 36 पीताम्बरधरो जगत्स्रष्टा जनार्दनः ।

22. 10 धृत. to संजय—लोकत्रयस्याधिपतिर्महात्मा ।

22. 30 ,, ,, ,, अनुस्मारंस्तस्य कर्माणि विष्णोः ।

,, 33 ,, ,, ,, सनातनो वृष्णिवीरश्च विष्णुः ।

48. 84, 88. K. called विष्णु by Arjuna.

53. 3 धृतराष्ट्रः—स स्रष्टा जगतः कृष्णः who would subjugate all the worlds.

67. संजय to धृतराष्ट्रः—सारतो जगतः कृत्स्नादतिरिक्तो जनार्दनः, who would burn the world, is the Lord of Time and Death, etc.

68. 3 संजय knows K. to be त्रियुगं...कर्तारमकृतं देवं भूतानां प्रभवाप्ययम् ।

69. ,, relates to धृतराष्ट्र, etymologies of Kṛṣṇa's Synonyms. These seem to be, more or less *artificial.*

70 धृतराष्ट्र praises K. as सनातन, सहस्रशीर्ष, पुराणपुरुष etc.

82. 36 ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां देवदेवः सनातनः leaving for हस्तिनापुर.

83. धृतराष्ट्र advising a receptiou of Kṛṣṇa :—भूतानामीश्वरो हि सः

86. 3 ,, त्रयाणामपि लोकानां भगनान्प्रापितामहः ।

90. 67 Kunti :—नमो धर्माय मेधसे । कृष्णाय महते नित्यं धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।

107. 14 गालव–विष्णुं गच्छाम्यहं कृष्णं... ।

„ 15 भोगा यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठन्ते ... । कृष्णं योगिनमव्ययम् ।

130. 55–67 विदुर to दुर्योधन, refers to the Purāṇic feats of K. :– अयं कर्ता न क्रियते कारणं चापि पौरुषे ।

131. 4–6 K. showing his विश्वरूप, seen by द्रोण, भीष्म, विदुर, संजय, धृतराष्ट्र.

V. 169. 16 भीष्म to दुर्यो०-गुडाकेशो **नारायण**सहायवान् ।

VI. 21. 11, 14-16 Arj. to Yudh, अनन्ततेजा गोविन्दो...। पुरुषःसनातनमयो यतः कृष्णस्ततो जयः । पुरा ह्येष हरिर्भूत्वा...। तत्प्रसादाद्धि त्रैलोक्यं प्राप्तं शक्रादिभिः सुरैः ।

25-42, Bhagavadgītā, where Kṛṣṇa identified himself with the God.

59. 96, 97 Bhīṣma to K.:—देवेश जगन्निवास etc.

65-68 ., to दुर्यो° relating the विश्वोपाख्यान; where ब्रह्मा requested the God to come to the earth as Kṛṣṇa.

98. 14-15 भीष्म to दुर्योधन :—यस्य गोप्ता जगत्स्रष्टा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । वासुदेवोऽनन्त शाक्तिः ...। सर्वेश्वरो देवदेव :...।

106. 62-64 भीष्म welcoming death at the hands of K:—देवदेवः प्रहरस्व यथेष्टं...।

VII. 10. 76 धृतराष्ट्र :—नारायणो रणे नाथो दिव्यो दिव्यात्मकः प्रभुः ।

29. 34 K. explains to Arj. his fourfold form :—(1) तपश्चर्यां कुरुते भुवि, (2) पश्यति जगत् (3) कुरुते कर्म मानुषं, and (4) शेते...निद्रां वर्षसहस्रिकीम् ।

33. 12 द्रोण to दुर्योधन :—विश्वसृग् यत्र गोविन्दः...।

49. 1 विष्णो : स्वसुर्नन्दकरः स विष्ण्वायुध भूषणः । i.e. अभिमन्यु.

79. 9 सर्वेषामीश्वरेश्वरः ।...विष्णु : comforted Arj.

83. 10-20 Yudh. praising K. in the presence of other kings:—सर्वेश, देवदेवेश, विष्णो, हरे, कृष्ण etc. **नारदस्त्वां** समाचख्यौ पुराणमृषिसत्तमम् ।

143. 60 K. ordered भूरिश्रवा to go to his world and obtain divine from like himself.

150. 5ff, Yudh. after the death of Jayadratha, praises K. as the supreme Lord.

VIII. 23. 61 Karṇa to दुर्यो.—कृष्णश्च **जगतः स्रष्टा** रथं तमभिरक्षति (of Arjuna).

65. 1 **नारायण**समाहिते रथे.

72. 14 Arj. took:—त्वमस्य जगतस्तात वेत्थ सर्वं गतागतम् ।

83. 65 Karṇa to Śalya:--(Arjuna)...नारायणेनाप्रतिमेन गुप्त : । यस्य गुणा न शक्यं वक्तुं...महात्मनः विष्णोर्जिष्णोर्वसुदेवात्मजस्य ।

101. 29-34 Yudh. praised K. after Karṇa's death.

IX. 18. 27 पाञ्चाला : पाण्डवै : सह speaking :—येषां च **जगतो नाथो** नाथः कृष्णो जनार्दनः ।

63. 12 भूतानामीश्वरे महात्मनि अवतीर्णे, Arjuna's रथ was reduced to ashes.

XII. 42 Yudh. after his coronation, praises Kṛṣṇa :—विष्णु :, पुराण :, वैकुण्ठ :, हंस :, हिरण्यगर्भ : etc. (100 names of विष्णु *acc. to S. Recn*).

45 Yudh. praising K. as a perfect yogin, and Lord ... कर्ता विकर्ता च त्वं क्षरश्चाक्षरश्च ह ।

46 भीष्मस्तवराज, where K. is addressed as the Godhead.

,,. 136 हरि : (K.) gives त्रैलोक्यदर्शनं ज्ञानं to भीष्म.

50. 2-9 भीष्म praises K. in his विश्वरूप : दिवं ते शिरसा व्याप्तं पद्भ्यां देवी वसुंधरा ।

51. 15 K. grants भीष्म divine knowledge, ease of limbs, etc.

53. 25ff वासुदेव grants boons to भीष्म that his words would be honoured, and his fame would be eternal.

110. 35-38 भीष्म to Yudh : य एष...तवाच्युत : ।...वैकुण्ठ : पुरुषोत्तम : : य एनं संश्रयन्तीह भक्त्या नारायणं हरिम् । ते तरन्तीह दुर्गाणि... ।

206. भीष्म tells Yudh. how विष्णु, केशव, नारायण performed the creation, and identifies him with Kṛṣṇa, as related by नारद.

208. 1 Yudh. wants to know all re : कृष्णमव्ययमीश्वरम् ।

,,. 47 भीष्म tells all, giving the अवतारs, and concludes : स एष...सर्वभूतादिरीश्वर : ।

212 वार्ष्णेयाध्यात्म : वासुदेवः सर्वमिदं विश्वस्य ब्रह्मणो मुखम् । पुरुषं सनातनं विष्णु...।

286. 60 identifying जनार्दन with विष्णु नारायण ;whose powers were told to वृत्र by सनत्कुमार.

,,. 62 K. is the **तुरीयांश** of the great God.

348. 21-54 कृष्णावतार foretold by भगवान् to नारद (St. 25, 26, 30-33, 36-39, 41 *cd*—53 *S. interp*).

,,. 55 सात्वत the ninth अवतार.

350 K. expounds his names to Arjuna.

352 do. do. do.

358. 88 कृष्ण एव हि लोकानां भावनो मोहनस्तथा संहारकारकश्चैव कारणं च विशांपते

XIII. 263 भीष्म praises Kṛṣṇa, as the first creator, supreme God, identifies him with नारायण परम अव्यय (46.)

XIV. 52. 6ff Arj. praising Kṛṣṇa : विश्वकर्मन्नमस्तेस्तु विश्वात्मन्विश्वसत्तम ।...त्वयि-सर्वमिदं विश्वं...।

54. K. explains to उदङ्क his divine form.

55. 4, 5 K. reveals to उदङ्क his divine form.

„ 7-14 the sage praises Kṛṣṇa.

„ 38, 39 K. gave water in the मरु land.

68. उत्तरा praying K. for the revival of her child :—इच्छन्नपि हि-लोकांस्त्रीन् जीवयेथा मृतानिमान् ।

XV. 33. 11 व्यास to गान्धारी—नारायणं हृषीकेशं (विद्धि).

XVI. 5. 28 नारायण :—योगाचार्यो रोदसी व्याप्य लक्ष्म्या । स्थानं प्राप्त स्वं महात्माऽप्रमेयं ।

XVIII 5. 23 व्यास's teaching :—**यस्य नारायणो** देवो...। तस्यांशो वासुदेवस्तु कर्मणोन्ते विवेश ह ॥

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APPENDIX II.

KṚṢṆA AND ARJUNA IDENTIFIED WITH NĀRĀYAṆA AND NARA IN THE MBH.

I. 1. 198 यदाश्रौषं **नरनारायणौ** तौ कृष्णार्जुनौ वदतो नारदस्य ।

.68. 119 (सोम to gods re : अभिमन्यु's last fight) : **नरनारायणाभ्यां** तु स संग्रामो विनाकृतः ।

.238. 24 आस्तां प्रियसखायौ तौ **नरनारायणावृषी** । (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna at Prabhāsa).

.250. 8, 9 **नरनारायणौ** यौ तौ...। अर्जुनं वासुदेवं च यौ तौ लोकोऽभिमन्यते । (Brahmā asking Agni to approach them).

.254. 18 **नरनारायणावेतौ** पूर्वदेवौ दिवि श्रुतौ । (अशरीरिणी वाक् Indra in Khāṇḍava fight).

II. 89. 45 कृष्णं च **हरिं नरं** च त्राणाय विक्रोशति याज्ञसेनी ।

III. 12. 46-48 Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna : ममैव त्वं तवैवाहं...। **नर**स्त्वमसि...हरि**र्नारायणो** ह्यहम् ।

.40. 1-3 Śiva to Arjuna : **नर**स्त्वं पूर्वदेहे वै **नारायण**सहायवान् ।

.45. 18, 19 Indra to लोमशः **नरनारायणौ** यौ तौ पुराणौ ऋषिसत्तमौ । तावेतावभिजानीहि हृषीकेशधनंजयौ ॥

.84. 6 युधि० to भीष्म :...अहमपि जानामि **नरनारायणावृषी** ।

?. 126. 19 प्रस्रवणगिरि **where** नरनारायणौ **practised penance.**

.273. 31, 82 Indra to **Jayadratha :**...अर्जुनं **नरं** नाम **नारायण**सहायक

V. 49. 19 पितामह to the gods : वासुदेवार्जुनौ वीरौ ...। **नरनारायणौ** देवौ पूर्वदेवाधिति श्रुति : ।

.96. 49 जामदग्न्य to Kauravas : **नरनारायणौ** यौ तौ तावेवार्जुनकेशवौ ।

.111. 4 सुपर्ण to गालवः अत्र **नारायण**ः कृष्णो जिष्णुश्चैव **नरोत्तम**ः ।

VI. 23. 18 दुर्गास्तोत्र, देवी to Arjuna : **नर**स्त्वमसि दुर्धर्ष **नारायण**सहायवान् ।

.121. 32 कथितो नारदेनासि पुर्वर्षिरमितद्युते । **वासुदेव**सहायस्त्वं...॥ Bhiṣma to Arjuna.

VII. 11. 41 Dhṛtarāṣṭra : पूर्वदेवौ महात्मानौ **नरनारायणा**वुभौ ।

.77. 2 After the death of Abhimanyu, **नरनारायणौ** क्रुद्धौ ज्ञात्वा देवा : सवासवा : । were anxious as to what would happen.

VII. 80. 51 Śiva sees **नरनारायणौ** उभौ आगतौ for पाशुपतास्त्र.

.81. 9 Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna **नरनारायणा**वृषी, went to the lake and brought पाशुपतास्त्र.

.201. 14 **नरनारायणौ** tried their utmost to put down नारायणास्त्र.

.202. 53ff व्यास to अश्वत्थामाः penance of sage नारायण,—called वासुदेव at st. 72,—his seeing Rudra who granted him boons. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna = Nārāyaṇa and Nara.

VIII. 52. 19 सर्वभूतवरौ वीरौ **नरनारायणा**विमौ ।

.92. 13 महाब्रह्मा to प्रजापति, when the fight between Arjuna and Karṇa was serious : स्रष्टारौ जगतश्चैतौ...। **नरनारायणा**वेतौ...।

XIII. 252. 55, 56 after फलश्रुति st. of कृष्णमाहात्म्य: वासुदेवधनंजयौ practise तप at बदरी for 100 years, as related by नारद.

.273. 44 भीष्म's last prayer : **नरनारायणा**वेतौ संभूतौ मनुजेष्विति ।

APPENDIX III.

MBH. REFERENCES TO VASUDEVA.

(This point is referred to at p. 332.)

I. 64. 141 **वसुदेवा**तु देवक्यां प्रादुर्भूतः ... ।
163. 32 स्वसारं **वसुदेवस्य** ... (i. e. Kunti).
239. 15 **वसुदेव**सुतां शुभाम् । (i. e. Subhadrā).

II. 40. 6 **वसुदेवे** स्थिते वृद्धे कथमर्हति तत्सुतः । Śiśupāla asking, when Kṛṣṇa was being given arghya.

III. 304. 24 वसुदेवस्य भगिनी (i. e. Kunti).

VII. 144. 10 देवकीं वसुदेवार्थे । निर्जित्य... (शिनि won देवकी on behalf of Vasudeva.

XII. 47. 31 यं देवं देवकी देवी वसुदेवादजीजनत् ।

XIII. आनकदुन्दुभि son of शूर, and father of Kṛṣṇa, of four hands (!).

XIV. 60. 61 Kṛṣṇa related to Vasudeva the events of the Mbh. war.

83. 15 Vasudeva with Ugrasena going to receive Arjuna with the sacrificial horse, at Dvārakā.

XVI. 7 Arjuna came to see Vasudeva after the greatly unhappy end of the Yādavas.

8. 15-26 Death of Vasudeva, who was followed by his four widows to the funeral pyre.

XVIII. 5. 16 Vasudeva among those, who, after death, entered the deities.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OE SOME HYMNS IN ṚGVEDA GIVING ALTERNATIVE NAMES FOR THEIR SEERS.

(This point is referred to at p. 333.)

I. 105 आप्त्यस्त्रितः कुत्सो वा.

II. 1 गृत्समद आंगिरसः शौनहोत्रः पश्चात् भार्गवः शौनकः

VIII. 42 नाभाकः काण्वः अर्चनाना वा । अथवा १–३ नाभाकः काण्वः । ४–६ नाभाकः काण्वः अर्चनाना वा ।

.67 मत्स्यः सामदो मान्यो वा मैत्रावरुणिर्वहवो वा भत्स्या जालनद्धाः ।

.71 सुदीति पुरुमीळ्हौ तयोर्वा अन्यतरः ।

.73 गौपवन आत्रेयः सप्तनभिर्वा ।

.86 कृष्णोविश्वको वा काण्वः ।

.87 कृष्णो द्युम्नीको वा वासिष्ठः प्रियमेध्यो वा ।

.92 श्रुतकक्षः सुकक्षो वा ।

.94 बिन्दुः पूसदक्षो वा ।

.96 तिरश्चीर्द्युतानो वा मारुतः ।

.102 प्रयोगो भार्गव अग्निर्वा पावक बार्हस्पत्यः । अथवाग्नी गृहपतियविष्ठौ सहसः सुतौ तयोर्वा अन्यतरः ।

IX 5. 24 आर्सतः काश्यपो देवलो वा ।

.9 त्रिशिरास्त्वाष्ट्रः सिन्धुद्वीपो वा अम्बरीषः ।

.19 मथितो यामायनो भृगुर्वा वारुणिश्च्यवनो वा भार्गवः ।

.20–26 पितर ऐन्द्रः प्राजापत्यो **वा** वसुकृद्वा वासुकः ।

.50 No mention of any seer

.65 भृगुर्वारुणिर्जमदग्निर्**वा** ।

.67 different names for different groups of st., but for 23-32.
पवित्रो वसिष्ठो **वोभौ वा** ।

.72 बृहस्पतिर्बृहस्पतिर्**वा** लौक्य आदितिर्**वा** दाक्षायणी ।

.79, 80 अग्निः सौचीको वैश्वानरो **वा** सग्निर्वा वाजंभरः ।

.88 मूर्धन्वानांगिरसो वामदेव्यो **वा** ।

.101 doubtful about *the deity* विश्वेदेवा ऋत्विजो **वा** ।

.102 „ „ „ ध्रुवव इन्द्रो **वा** ।

.105 doubtful about the name and epithet :—
कौत्सो दुर्मित्रो नाम्ना सुमित्रो गुणतः, सुमित्रो **वा** नाम्ना दुर्मित्रो गुणतः ।

.107 दिव्यो दक्षिणा **वा** प्राजापत्या । दक्षिणा, तद्दातारो **वा** ।

.109 ज्युर्ब्रह्मजायोर्ध्वनाभा **वा** ब्राह्मः ।

.110 जमदग्निस्तत्सुतो **वा** रामः ।

.114 साग्निर्वैरूपो धर्मो **वा** तापसः ।

.115 उपस्तुतो **वार्टिहव्यः** ।

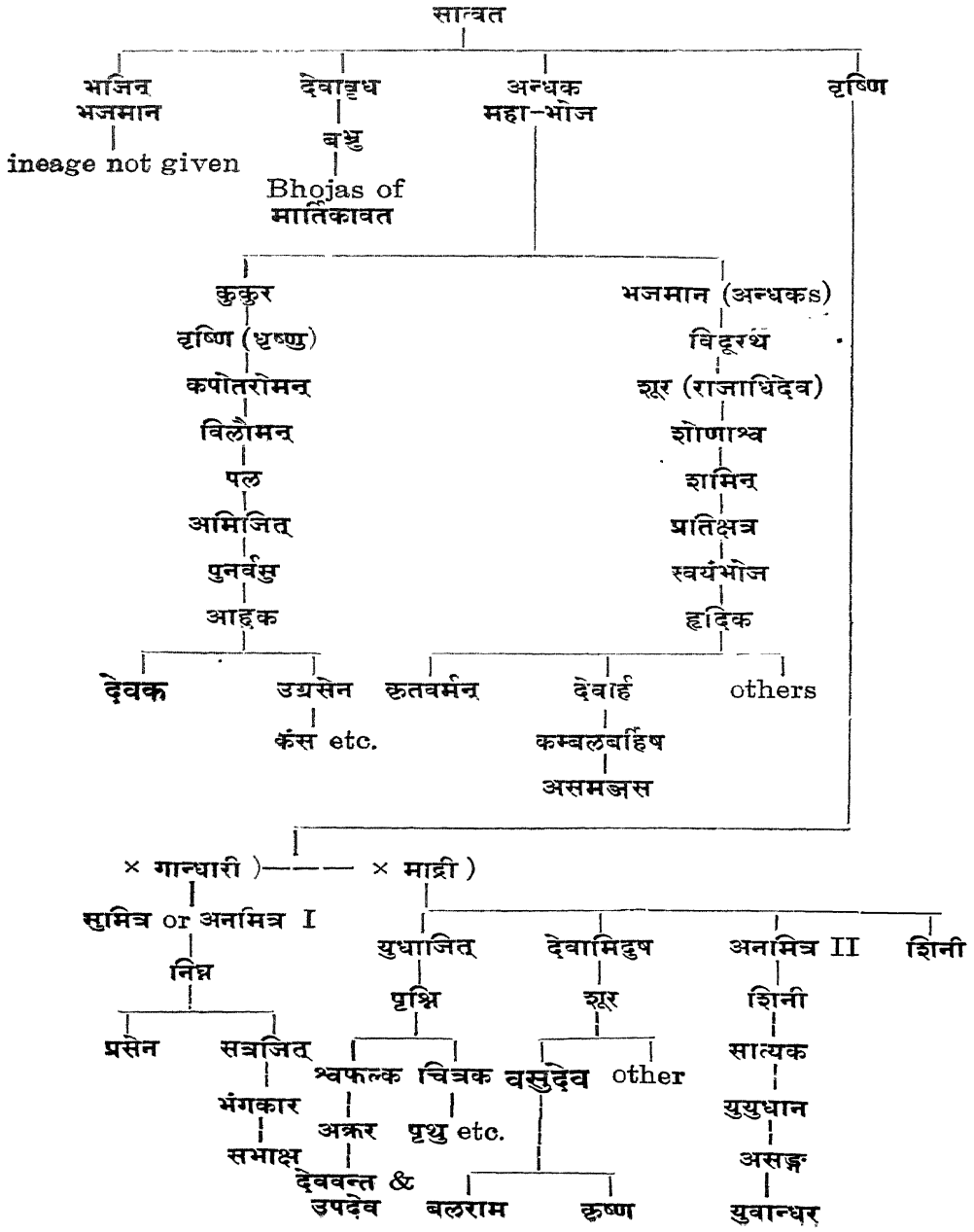
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APPENDIX V.

GENEALOGY OF THE YĀDAVAS—THE SĀTVATAS

(Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 105, 107).

(This point is referred to at p. 332.)



REVIEWS

KALYĀNA (HINDI) MAGAZINE, BHAGAVADGĪTĀ SPECIAL NUMBER; edited by Baba Raghavadas, and Hanumanprasad Poddar, of Gorakhpur (U. P.), India—contains over 500 pp. with about 200 articles *all* relating to the Bh. Gītā, 170 photos and illustrations, out of which about 16 are in colour. Quotations from the works of great authors, past and present, as also pieces of poems relating to the various topics of the Bh. Gītā, are also seen here and there. This special number has really become attractive from all points of view, and the editors have to be heartily congratulated for their laudable efforts in bringing together so many great men from almost all parts of India, Europe and America; in fact, the enterprising editors have brought about a Bh. Gītā conference, where each has something to say about the Lord's Song– its subject matter, or the characters connected therewith. The illustrations, too, are artistically conceived, and add to the interest with which one regards this special number.

The Bh. Gītā, being one of the most popular works in India, has attracted the attention of great men from past times, and while each looks at it from his own point of view, it has now attained a very high position in the world literature. The Gītā is now studied by many devoted students, who are not Indians, and they have admitted unanimously that it preaches a very high philosophy.

The point of greatest importance in the study of the Bh. Gītā, is whether it is a homogeneous whole and whether it preaches one subject, uniformly, and it is of great interest to note, in the different contributions to the number under review, that we find different opinions propagated with equal force, by each writer. Of course many of these follow the tradition of the old Ācāryas stating either Saṁnyāsa, or Bhakti, or Jñāna to be the aim of the Bh. Gītā, while some follow the Karmayoga doctrine of the late Lok. Tilak, and we find, one, who, at p. 318 says, "Fighting alone was duty for Arjuna; in the same way, our present duty is to *Spin on the Charkhā*."

Same difference of opinion prevails with regard to the most prominent śloka of the Bh. Gītā : while the late Lok. Tilak laid down the famous stanza " Karmaṇyevādhikāras te " as the Catuḥ-Sutrī of the doctrine of Karma, one writer gives at p. 104 the concluding stanzas, " Īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānām ..." to be the main point of the Bh. Gītā ; and another still, "Ananyāś cintayanto mām ...9. 22 " to be the one of importance.

There are some important articles which give a comparative study of the Bh. Gītā with other works. Some such are : (1) the Bh. G. and Yogavāśiṣṭha p. 210 (2) Bh. G. and the Bhāgavata, p. 370, (3) Bh. G. and Rāmacaritamānasa, p. 434.

At p. 388, we find an interesting article giving the different translations of the Bh. Gītā, in Arabic and Persian ; regarding the original text of the Bh. Gītā, we have, at p. 424, a text of 70 stanzas, copied from an old Ms. from Northern India, and the writer states that this text differs from that from the Bali Island.

Learned Contributions from European scholars like Prof. Lüders, Prof. Schrader, Otto Strauss, some from the woman-world-one by Mme. Johasphine Ransom of London, at p. 174, is a really good one-and some tabular statements like the one at p. 390, are some of the interesting features of this issue. The labour of the editors can well be conceived when we see that many of the contributions, hailing from non-Hindi parts, naturally wrote their articles in their own language, which these editiors have with great care, rendered into appropriate Hindi.

The present writer does not profess to be an artist ; but as a layman, he can say that some of the pictures in this issue are really beautiful, and as a conclusion it would be but right to state that this special issue has been made attractive from all points of view, and should be on the shelf of every admirer of the Bhagavad Gītā.

S. N. TADPATRIKAR

APPENDIX I.

List of Journals, Periodicals, and Institutions on Exchange

(upto 6th July 1929)

1 The "Man", Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russel Street, London (England).

2 Journal of the R. A. Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 74, Grosvenor Street, London (England).

3 Asiatic Review, 3, Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1.

4 The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 41, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1.

5 Beacon, C/o Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1 (England).

6 The Librarian, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London E. C. 2. (England).

7 "The Shrine of Wisdom", Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.

8 Zeitschrift der Deutschen, Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).

9 Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften N. W. 7, Unter De- Linden 38, Berlin, (Germany).

10 Universitats-Blbliothek, Gottingen, (Germany).

11 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munchen, (Germany).

12 Zeitschrift für Buddhismus Oskar Schloss Verlag, Muncher Neubiberg, (Germany).

13 Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Deutschen Morgen ländischen, Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).

14 Berlin Academy of Science, Berlin, (Germany).

15 Bavarian Academy of Science, Münich.

16 "The Journal Asiatique" Societe Asiatique, Rue Jacob No. 13 (VI°) Paris.

17 Académie des Insctiptions, et Belles-Letters, 82 Rue Bonaparte, 82 Paris (France).

18 Memoirs de la Société, de Linguistique de Paris, 5, Quai Maloquais, Paris, (France).

19 L'Instruction Publique et Des Beaux-Arts Musee Guiment, 6 Place d'Iena- Paris (XVIe).

20 L'Ecole Francaise, d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, (French Indo-China).

21 "The new Orient", 12 Fifth Avenue, New York City, (U.S.A.).

22 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. (U. S. A.).

23 "The Theosophical Path", International Theosophical Headquarters, Point Loma, California, (U. S. A.).

24 "Rays from the Rose Cross", The Rosicrusian Fellowship, Oceanside, California (U. S. A.).

25 Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, Massachusetts, (U.S.A.).

26 The Museum Journal, University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa, (U. S. A.).

27 The Political Science Quarterly, C/o The Academy of Political Science, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, (U.S.A.).

28 The Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 104, South 5th Street, Philadelphia, (U. S. A.).

29 The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Yale University Press, Connecticut, (U. S. A.).

30 The American Anthropologist, C/o American Anthropological Association, 41, North Queen St. Lancaster, (U. S. A.).

31 The Ohiho Journal of Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, (U. S. A.).

32 The Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

33 "Nuova Cultura" Della R. Universita di Napoli, Via Sanita N° 131, Napoli, (Italy).

34 Oriental School, University of Rome, Rome (Italy).

35 Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien, Wien, (Austria).

36 Journal of Oriental Institute, Universitat, Wien, (Austria).

37 Archives Orienlalis, Uppsala, (Sweden).

38 Kungl Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala, (Sweden).

39 "Kern Institute", Leiden, (Holland).

40 Section d' Etudes Orientales Societe des Sciences de Varsovie, Varsovie, Rue Sniadeckich 8 (Poland).

41 The Journal of the Java Institute, Weltevreden, (Java).

42 Royal Batavia Society, Museum, Konigsplein West 12, Batavia, (Java).

43 The Buddhist Chronicle, Ananda College, Colombo.

44 The Eastern Buddhist, C/o The Library, Otani University, Muromaci-Kashira, Kyoto, Japan.

45 "Revista Theosofica", Official Organ of the "Section Cubana" of the "Sociedad Theosofica", Apartado 365, Habana Cuba.

46 "Theosophy in Australia", 114, Hunter Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

47 Fundamental Library of the Central Asian State University, Tashkent, U. S. S. Russia.

48 Arhatamat Prabhakar Karyalaya, Poona No. 2.

49 The Jain Sahitya Samshodhan, C/o Bharat Jain Vidyalaya, Bhandarkar Institute Road, Poona No. 4.

50 "Vidyasevak", Dnyanakosh Press, 841, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2.

51 "Progress of Education", C/o Aryabhushan Press, Poona No. 4.

52 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

53 "Vividha-jñāna-vistār", 81, Phanaswadi, Bombay No. 2.

54 The Journal of the Anthropological Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

55 The Indian Antiquary, C/o British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.

56 Journal of the K. R. Kama Oriental Institute, 172, Hornby Road, Sukhadwalla Buildings, Fort Bombay.

57 The Jain Hitaishi, C/o Manager, Jain Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Hirabag, Girgaon, Bombay.

58 The Iranian Association, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

59 University of Bombay, Bombay.

60 "Jain Gazette", Office, 21 Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, G. T. Madras.

61 "The Shamaa", Aghore Mandir, Mount Road, Madras.
62 Madras University Library, Madras.
63 The Indian Review, C/o G. B. Natesan and Co., Madras.
64 The "Kalpaka", The Latent Light Culture, (Tinnevelly), Madras.
65 Educational Review, No. 4 Mount Road, Madras.
66 Shri Vaisnava Siddhanta Sabha, 5/11 Adiappa Mudaly Street Purasawalkam Vepery, P. O. Madras.
67 "Vedanta Kesari", Shri Ramkrishna Matha, Mylapore, Madras.
68 "The Current Thought", 29 Pycroft Road, Triplicane, Madras.
69 Journal of Oriental Research, Mylapore, Madras.
70 The Indian Hisrorical Quarterly, C/o The Calcutta Oriental Press, 107 Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.
71 "The Sanskrit Sahityaparishat", Shyambazar, Calcutta.
72 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1, Park Street, Calcutta.
73 Jonrnal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
74 The Calcutta Review, Senate House, Calcutta.
75 Journal of the Mahabodhi Society, 4A College Square, Calcutta.
76 "The People", 12, Court Street, Lahore.
77 Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, C/o The University, Lahore, (Punjab).
78 The Central Museum, Lahore.
79 The Vedic Magazine, The Vedic Magazine Office, Lahore.
80 Journal of Indian History, History Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
81 Allahabad University Journal, Department of English, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
82 Mysore University Journal, Mysore.
83 Sanskrit College Magazine, Government Sanskrit College, Mysore
84 "The Karnataka", P. O. Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
85 The Journal of the Mythic Society, Mysore Road, Bangalore.
86 Indian Review of Reviews, Basavangudi Post, Bangalore City.
87 Puratattva, Gujarat Putatattva Mandir, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.

88 "The Philosophical Quarterly", C/o Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner (East Khandesh).

89 Baroda Library, Baroda.

90 The Vishvabharati, Shantiniketan, Bolpur (Bengal).

91 The "Sanskrit Bharati", Burdwan (Bengal).

92 Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

93 "Yekantin", Yekanta Matha, P. O. Rannibinur, Dist. Dharwar.

94 The Pandit, Pandit Press, Sanghi Road, Jaipur.

95 Superintendent of Archaeology, Jammu and Kashmir State, Jammu.

96 "Yogamimansa" Kunjavana, Lonavala, G. I. P. Ry.

97 Lucknow University Journal, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

98 The "Prabuddha Bharata", Mayavati, Dist. Almora, Himalayas.

99 Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

100 Revue Historique de l'Inde Francaise, Pondicherry.

101 Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

102 Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bengal).

103 "Man in India", Church Road, Ranchi, B. N. Ry.

104 Journal of the Burma Research Society, (Bernard Free Library), Rangoon.

105 Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, Srinagar.

106 Sri Agamodaya Samiti, Gopipara, Surat.

107 The Tanjore S. M. Library, Tanjore,

108 The Curator for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum.

109 The Director Indian Institute Oslo University Oslo, Norway.

110 Oriental Institute Prague (Czechoslavakia).

111 Secretary Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.

112 The Editor "Indologica Pragensia" seminar für Indologie der Deutschen Universitat Prague (Czechoslavakia).

113 Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2.

114 Director of the Archaeological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.

APPENDIX II

List of Members of the Institute

(Corrected upto 6th July 1929)

(*i*) *Honorary Members*

1 M. M. Vasudevshastri Abhyankar, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18.

2 Dr. J. J. Modi, B. A., Ph. D., 211, Pilot Bunder Road, Colaba, Bombay. 10-9-18.

3 Muniraj Jinavijayaji, Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad. 16-4-21.

4 Dr. K. B. Pathak, B. A., Ph. D., 1028, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 6-7-24.

5 Dr. M. Winternitz, I, Klementinum Prague (Czechoslovakia). 30-2-25.

6 Dr. F. W. Thomas, 161 Woodstock Road, Oxford. 12-9-26.

7 Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, Mysore. 12-9-26.

8 Dr. Silvain Levi, 9, Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris. 12-926.

9 Dr. H. Lüders, 20 Sybelstr, Charlottenberg, Berlin. 6-7-1928.

(*ii*) *Patrons*

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11 His Highness Sayajirao Maharaja Gaikwar, Baroda. 10-9-18.

12 Lady Chinubhai, Ahemedabad. 10 9-18.

13 Shri Shankaracharya of Karavir Math, Nasik. 10-9-18.

14 P. A. Mate, Esqr., 1028, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18.

15 Sir Dorab Tata, Navasari Building, Fort, Bombay. 10-2-18.

16 Shrimant Narayanrao Babasaheb Ghorpade, Chief of Ichalkaranji, Ichalkaranji. 10-9-18.

17 Shet Shamji Hemaraj, Readymoney Mansion, Churchgate Street, Bombay No. 1. 19-11-18.

18 Shet Rattonchand Kama Chambers., 23 Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay, 19-1-19.

19 Shet Lalbhai Kalyanbhai, Chaupati, New Queen's Road, Bombay. 12-1-19.

20 Shet Kasturbhai Nagarshet, Cuffe Parade, Bombay. 19-1-19.

21 Shet Jivanchand Sakharchand, 426, Javheri Bazar, Bombay No. 4. 19-1-19.

22 Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., Chief of Aundh, Aundh. 1-3-19.

23 Mr. Hiralal Amritlal Shah, B. A., Princess Street, Champsi Building, 2nd Floor, Bombay No. 2. 10-7-19.

24 Motilal Kanji Kapadia, Esqr., 9 Cathedral Street, Kalkadevi, Bombay. 20-9-19.

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28 Mr. Premchand Tribhuvandas, Vittal Villa, Santa Cruz. 6-4-20.

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34 Babu Puranchand Nahar, M. A., B. L., 48, Indian Mirror Street Calcutra. 19-1-21.

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36 Babu Bhairodan Kothari, Esqr., 100, Cross Street, Calcutta. 7-9-23.

37 M. Y. Gowaikar, Esqr., 20, Narayan Peth, Poona No. 2. 21-1-19.

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(*iii*) *Vice-Patrons*

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44 V. P. Vaidya, Esqr., B. A., J. P., Bar-at-law, 37/39, Forbes Street, Bombay. 26-6-19.

45 Narayandas P. Kapadia, Esqr., Girgaum Back Road, Bombay. 23-12-19.

46 Rustomji Byramji Jeejeebhoy, Esqr., Alice Buildings, Fort, Bombay. 7-6-20.

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54 Sardar Y. M. Chandrachud, 305, Shaniwar, Poona No. 2. 26-5-19.

55 Shrimant Babasaheb Pant Sachiv, Chief of Bhor, Bhor. 10-7-19.

56 Hormazd Sherior Irani, Esqr., Abdul Rehman Street, Bombay. 30-8-20.

57 Rashid Jamshed, Esqr., Doongri, Bombay. 9-9-20.

58 Rashid Khodadad, Esqr., 1331, West Street, Poona No. 2. 17-12-20.

59 V. P. Pendherkar, Esqr., Proprietor Tutorial Press, Bombay. 21-11-22.

60 His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Sir Leslie Wilson, P. C., G. C. I. E., C. M. G., D. S. O., sometime Governor of Bombay. 1-12-25.

61 Dr. R. H. Bhadkamkar, M. A., M. D., Tribhuvandas Terraces, Girgaon, Bombay. 19-3-20.

(v) Life Members

62 Raosaheb T. Narayanswami Pillai, 335, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 1916-17.

63 Sir M. B. Chowbal, B. A., LL. B., near Poona Station, Poona No. 1. 10-9-18.

64 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M. A., B. Sc., India Office, London. 10-9-18.

65 Prin. F. W. Bain, M. A., C. I. E., C/o King King & Co., London 10-9-18.

66 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D. 35, Ballygung Circular Road, Calcutta. 10-9-18.

67 Rao Bahadur G. N. Khare, B. A., Sadashiv Cottage, Poona No. 4. 10-9-18.

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74 K. N. Dikshit, Esqr. M. A., Supdt. Archaeological Dept. Eastern Circle, Calcutta. 10-9-18.

75 Madhavrao V. Joshi, Esqr., Balaji Temple, Nasik City. 10-9-18.

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87 Mrs. Annie Besant, Theosophical Lodge, Adyar, Madras. 10-9-18.

88† P. K. Telang, Esqr. M. A. Hindu University, Benares. 10-9-18.

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90 A. S. Dalvi, Esqr. M. A. Navalkar's house, Girgaon Back Road. Bombay. No. 4. 10-9-18.

† Since deceased.

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92 Vishvanathrao B. Gokhale, Esqr., B. A., LL. B., Kolhapur. 10-9-18.

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95 Manohar Vishnu Kathavte, Esqr.. B. A., LL. B., Wai. 10-9-18.

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99 Shet Shoorji Vallābhadas, Bomboy. 10-9-18.

100 Lt. Col. A. Hooton, I. M. S., Medical Department, Bombay. 10-9-18.

101 Shet Thakorlal Maganlal, Bombay. 10-9-18.

102 Shet Dalpatbhai Bhagoobhai, Ahmedabad. 10-9-18.

103 Shet Jumnabhai Bhagoobhai, Ahmedabad. 10-9-18.

104 Sardar K. C. Mehendale, B. A., Appabalavant Chowk, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18.

105 Shet Mangaldas Girdhardas Parekh, Ahmedabad. 10-9-18.

106 Prof. R. D. Ranade, M. A., Allahabad University, Allahabad. 10-9-18.

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109 Prof. K. V. Abhyankar, M. A., Gujrat College, Ahmedabad. 10-9-18.

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111 Prof. M. G. Shastri, M. A., 811, Raviwar Peth, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18.

112 K. P. Paranjpye, Esqr. B. A., L. C. E.. Sholapur. 10-9-18.

113 H. R. Divekar, M. A., Women's University, Erandavane Budruk, Via Poona No. 4. 10-9-18.

114 Narayan Bapuji Utgikar, Esqr., Utgikar's Wada, Pandharpur. 10-918.

115 V. A. Deshpande, Esqr., B. A., LL. B., Terdal, Via Kudchi Stn. M. S. M. Ry. 10-9-18.

116 Prof. G. C. Bhate, M. A., Mahad, Dist. Colaba. 10-9-18.

117 Diwan Bahadur K. L. Paonskar, C. I. E., Kishangarh, Rajputana. 10-9-18.

118 H. L. Kavale, Esqr. Dadar, Bombay. 10-9-18.

119 Prin. V. K. Rajwade, M. A., 424 Shanwar Peth, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18.

120 R. M. Chonkar, Esqr., Portuguese Church Road, Dadar,

121 Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, M. A., Deccan Gymkhana, Poona No. 4. 10-9-18.

122 K. B. Shah, Esqr., Limbdi, Kathiawad. 10-9-18.

123 K. G. Joshi, Esqr., B. A., Deccan Gymkhana, Poona No. 4. 10-9-18.

124 Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M. A., Mysore University, Mysore. 10-9-18.

125 Diwan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, M. C. E., Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 10-9-18.

126 Paramanand R. Patwari, Esqr., Huzur Treasury Officer, Morvi (Kathiawar). 10-9-18.

127 Prof. R. G. Bhadkamkar, M. A., Karnatak College, Dharwar. 10-9-18.

128 Prof. N. D. Minocher Homji, B. A., Karnatak College, Dharwar. 10-9-18.

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On 6th July 1929

Class	No. on 6th July 1928	Since added ceased or deceased	Present No.
Honorary ...	8	+1	9
Patrons ...	29	+2 -2	29
Vice-Patrons ...	11	+1	12
Benefactors ...	13	+1 -3	11
Life-Members ...	183	+19 -9	193
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